LIBRARY

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158 NEW YORK : SATURDAY : FEBRUARY 12, 1944 NUMBER 7

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 173

EDITORIALS
- The Attack on HOLC 175
- Soviet League of Nations 176
- Pacific Strategy 177

ARTICLES
- The Cartel Cancer *by I. F. Stone* 178
- 75 Years Ago in *The Nation* 179
- The American Myth and the Peace *by Harold J. Laski* 180
- Propaganda Wins Battles *by Selden C. Menefee* 184
- In the Wind 186

POLITICAL WAR
- Germany, Economic Heart of Europe *by Fritz Sternberg* 187
- Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 189

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
- The Facts About Public Housing *by Charles Abrams* 191
- An Oxford Book of Symbolism *by Eric Russell Bentley* 191
- The Power to Make Treaties *by Volta Torrey* 193
- Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 194
- Art *by Clement Greenberg* 195
- Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 197
- Films *by James Agee* 197
- Music *by B. H. Haggin* 198

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 199

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 51 *by Jack Barrett* 200

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Editor Political War Section
J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Assistant Editor J. MITCHELL MORSE
Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL JONATHAN DANIELS
LOUIS FISCHER REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

MR. WILLKIE'S SPEECH AT THE NEW YORK *Times* Hall is being disparaged by enemies in his own party as "purely political" on the one hand and "politically crazy" on the other. He was, however, demonstrating his belief that the American people are adult enough to take their medicine unsweetened. This doctrine is of course scorned on Capitol Hill, but Mr. Willkie may prove to be as right in his assumption that the electorate is looking for candid leadership as he certainly is in advocating much heavier taxes during the war. Unfortunately, he weakened the effect of his proposals by lapsing into vagueness on the all-important question of how the additional load is to be distributed. And he can also be legitimately criticized for not speaking up for higher taxes months ago. At the time Congress started work on the current tax bill his speech would have been much more valuable than it is now just as the finishing touches are being given to a lamentably inadequate measure. However, Mr. Willkie's speech was certainly a more substantial contribution to the problems of our time than anything his current rivals have to offer. We welcome particularly his emphasis on the indivisibility of domestic and foreign policies, and in this connection we should like to call his attention to the article by Harold Laski on page 180 of this issue. While we do not expect him to agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Laski's thesis that the American mythology of "free enterprise" is one of the greatest menaces to world peace and prosperity, we believe he has grasped some of the limitations of private capitalism. Mr. Willkie has a chance to talk candidly on this subject during his visit to the Northwest, where public power is a burning issue. We hope he will not muff it even though it means another "politically crazy" speech.

*

WHETHER OR NOT SOLDIERS WILL HAVE A full opportunity to vote next November remains uncertain as we write. In the House, the Eastland-Rankin "states' rights" bill, which leaves service men at the mercy of forty-eight different systems of absentee balloting, many of them completely unsatisfactory, was passed by a fairly large majority. The Republican strategists, deciding that they had more to lose, after the President's challenge, by ducking the issue than by standing up to be counted, whipped their men into line

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so vigorously that only 11 voted against the bill while 180, joined by 52 Democrats, mostly Southerners, supported it. In the Senate, however, a motion to take up the Eastland-Rankin bill was lost by a tie, so that the Green-Lucas measure, which provides for a federal ballot, still holds the field. What will finally emerge from the heated halls of the Capitol is anybody's guess, but no matter what the outcome, Mr. Roosevelt seems to have been presented with a magnificent issue for 1944. There is every evidence that an overwhelming majority of the American people, regardless of political affiliations, believes that everything possible should be done to permit the men who are risking their lives for their country to have something to say about its future. Despite their constitutional double-talk, the Republicans have been unable to conceal their almost hysterical fear that, given a chance, a majority of service men will vote for a fourth term for Mr. Roosevelt. Perhaps this fear is well founded, but we should not like to be in the shoes of the Republican candidate when he tries to explain his party's actions on this question to the American public.

*

OUR EXPEDIENCY POLICY IN ITALY HAS become so manifestly inexpedient that there may be some truth in the persistent reports that it is about to be revised. According to some of the stories, the State Department is ready to write off King Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio is a dead loss although the Allied military authorities in the Mediterranean still believe that there is something to be gained by keeping them. Asked to comment on these rumors, the President told his press conference once again that this country could not decide for the Italians what the future form of their government should be—that they must do for themselves. The fact is that but for our decision the royal government would have been ousted long ago. The King and Badoglio are our puppets, and, manipulate them as we will, they cannot even give an imitation of governing. Thus our continued support of the King's regime only reduces Allied prestige in Italy, while his undignified clutching at the skirts of the AMG increases both his unpopularity and that of his House. According to John MacCormac, writing in the New York *Times*, Washington is now ready to abandon both Emmanuel and Prince Humbert and attempt the regency solution. It seems too late for this compromise. A few months ago the democratic forces in Italy might have accepted it. But at the recent Congress of Political Parties at Bari both Count Sforza and Croce, while denouncing the King with increased fervor, pointedly omitted any reference to a regency.

*

WE CANNOT SHARE THE INDIGNATION OF the Catholic press, duly echoed by the neophytes of the New York *Times*, at *Izvestia's* attack on the Vatican. Considering the unmeasured terms in which the Soviet government has been denounced, year in and year out, by Catholic spokesmen, a retort discourteous was hardly surprising. And while *Izvestia's* condemnation of the Vatican's foreign policy as consistently pro-fascist is, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated, the truth is that the church, despite a good many veiled scoldings of Nazis and Fascists, has at moments of crisis leaned in their direction. It is not, perhaps, that the Pope dislikes Nazism less but that he fears communism more. Hitler and Mussolini, for all their paganism, have at times been ready to pay lip-service to the faith and have been willing to sign agreements with the Vatican which left it some of its spiritual authority, not to mention control of its property. The Soviets, until very recently, have been anti-religious in both word and deed. Moreover, since there are practically no Roman Catholics in Russia, where the Greek orthodox church has a monopoly, there was no Papal stake at issue which would have made worth while the kind of compromises that Rome reached with the fascist dictators. Towards the end of last year there were many rumors of a pending agreement between the Vatican and Moscow, but if serious negotiations were ever attempted they have obviously broken down. One difficult hurdle to surmount was the Polish question, since Poland has always been a faithful province of the Catholic Church. Another obstacle, paradoxically enough, may have been the reconciliation between the Soviet government and the Greek Orthodox Church, for this rival creed is almost as heretical in Catholic eyes as Bolshevism itself.

*

ALLIED RELATIONS WITH SPAIN, STRAINED by a series of overt and outrageous acts in support of Hitler, are again simmering down to normal. The protests of the British and American governments, backed up by oil sanctions, which for a few days seemed to indicate a new and stiffer attitude toward the Spanish dictator, are now apparently being disposed of by more promises. Franco offers "strict neutrality." Sir Samuel Hoare reports that all differences are being satisfactorily settled. Behind these empty words lies the fact that Britain and the United States are still clinging to their relations with Spain. They emphasize solemnly that they never expected Franco to break with Germany; all they ask is an end to Nazi sabotage and spying in Spain and to Franco's open aid to Germany in the form of goods and credits. They want, too, the release of the Italian ships tied up in Spanish ports. We can assume that Franco will grant these modest requests, with perhaps some compromise regarding the ships. But we can be certain that his aid to Hitler will go on. Promises are all the Allies will get, but if these promises satisfy the Foreign Office and the State Department they do not satisfy the Russian government. A new rift between the western Allies and the Soviet Union will soon develop

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if Britain and the United States continue their relations with this avowed enemy of Russia.

*

THE LAG IN OUTPUT OF AVIATION GAS IS being blamed on labor shortages in the hearings on the Austin-Wadsworth national-service bill. This is a gross distortion of the record. Standard Oil, while helping to build an aviation-gas plant for the Nazis and permitting a subsidiary to license a similar project for the Japanese, was reluctant to enter into commercial production in this country. So was the rest of the oil industry with the exception of Houdry. Secretary Ickes told the Truman committee in April of last year that when he urged expansion of high-octane-gas production in June of 1941 he found in army-navy circles "a really baffling lack of understanding of the vital essentiality of 100-octane." He was unable to obtain semi-official requirements figures until May, 1942, and these were out of date when he got them. Steel plate for the aviation gas plants was delivered by WPB in "a harum-scarum manner." There was no mandatory scheduling of critical components for the plants until December, 1942. Lack of a consistent occupational-deferment policy caused "a frightening drain . . . upon the technical talent of the industry." The need today is for construction workers. It is hard to understand why this cannot be met, since construction employment has declined from a peak of 2,000,000 to 700,000, and the A. F. of L. declares it has filled every request for construction workers made to it by the armed services.

*

THE AVIATION-GAS PROGRAM MIGHT BE much farther along if Standard Oil hadn't tried to hog the synthetic-rubber program. "The largest allocation in the petroleum field," our Washington editor reported on September 19, 1942, "goes to Standard, which has a new and still-to-be-tested process for making butadiene from butylene. Unlike butane, butylene can only be obtained by cracking processes, and it is needed for aviation gas." That article, a critical analysis of the Baruch report, argued the superiority of the alcohol process for making synthetic rubber. Events have confirmed that view. Vast amounts of steel, critical components, and butylene, which might better have gone into aviation-gas production, were diverted to rubber-from-petroleum plants, which have proved a disappointment. The synthetic-rubber program depends more and more on alcohol. In the last quarter of last year only a fourth of our synthetic rubber came from petroleum. This year the WPB plans to use 328,000,000 gallons of alcohol for rubber manufacture as compared with 127,000,000 gallons last year. Under other circumstances the synthetic-rubber program might well have been the equivalent of a major military disaster. We should like to see the Truman or Gillette committee tell the country just what happened.

The Attack on HOLC

AS HYPOCRITICAL and greedy a campaign as any being waged in Washington is that led by Representative Dirksen against the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. Although the slogans used are to "reduce non-war expenditures" and "safeguard private enterprise," the purpose is to permit a few lending institutions to grab the HOLC's profitable mortgages and leave the government holding the bag with the rest. A powerful lobby headed by H. Morton Bodfish, $20,000-a-year president of the United States Savings and Loan League, was behind Dirksen's bill to force hurried liquidation of the HOLC last year. This bogged down in the Senate after the HOLC testified that such a move would cost the government about $373,000,000 in mortgage losses. Another legislative measure of this kind is expected to be introduced within a few weeks in the wake of the report just made to Congress by John H. Fahey, the Federal Home Loan Bank Commissioner.

Mr. Fahey cannot be accused of speaking as a New Dealer without practical business experience. He is a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. He reports that the HOLC is already 58 per cent liquidated and pleads that liquidation can be completed without loss to the government if it is permitted to continue on the orderly lines laid down in the original Home Owners' Loan Corporation Act in 1933. It is not irrelevant to recall that the HOLC not only saved thousands of home-owners from foreclosure in the early days of the New Deal but also rescued the banks and other lending institutions which had been holding wobbly mortgages. Some of these lenders, says the Fahey report, "seem to believe that the only purpose of the HOLC was to bail them out of their poor mortgages, enabling them to put the cash received into good loans and then to take back their relinquished mortgages after the government had spent millions in making them safe. They seek easy profits regardless of the public interest."

However framed, each of the proposals for quick liquidation of the HOLC would, in effect, hand over the sound HOLC mortgages to private institutions and leave the government with the bad ones. This is hardly a way to "reduce non-war expenditures." Until now, the HOLC has been able to use earnings on its good mortgages as an offset against losses on the bad. As a result its net realized loss today is little more than $65,000,000, as compared with the eventual losses of a half-billion to a billion dollars which were predicted when the HOLC was established. A loss of $65,000,000 on a "rescue" investment of $3,484,000,000 is less than 2 per cent, and Fahey indicates that even this can be wiped out if the HOLC is allowed to liquidate the holdings in slow and orderly fashion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The case for the HOLC is not merely the case for businesslike procedure in handling a government investment. There are thousands of home-owners, most of them good risks, whose homes would be endangered by sudden liquidation of the HOLC. "A great number of HOLC mortgages," Fahey points out, "are not attractive to lending institutions because of their small balances, extended terms, and scattered location in remote communities, which increases the cost of servicing." These mortgagors would suffer if forced to find commercial lenders to replace their HOLC loans. As it is, some thousands of HOLC borrowers have already been misled into arranging new loans by false reports that the HOLC was soon to be liquidated.

In most of these cases, refinancing has been harmful. The interest rate has been higher, the terms less favorable. Study of a large number of HOLC loans transferred to private lending institutions showed that the debts had been increased by an average of $1,500, or 78 per cent more than the balance the borrowers had owed the HOLC at the time of transfer. The houses on which these loans were made averaged over twenty-two years in age. Transfers under such conditions load borrowers with additional debt and add to war-time inflationary pressure. We hope Congress this year will not only resist the mortgage hogs again but slap them down so resoundingly as to discourage any further campaign against the HOLC and leave its officers and its borrowers free to continue in the path of orderly liquidation.

Soviet League of Nations

NOT even Mr. Molotov, we imagine, expects his historic speech to be taken at face value. The Soviet Foreign Minister might even be irritated if the world were to believe that the decentralization of a mighty nation was being undertaken overnight merely in order to oil its administrative machinery for the future or to pay a political reward to a fighting people.

Both these purposes may well be present, but they hardly rate a measure which by its scope, potentialities, and timing was bound to rock the political world and inspire endless speculation on the eve of the Allied invasion. In the first place, the proposed decentralization would surely not increase Soviet efficiency in the midst of gigantic military operations, and there is probably no intention of effecting the change immediately. In other words, if administrative reform were all that was involved, the announcement would have been held up and not allowed to strain a diplomatic situation already tense. As for the "reward" theory, there are ways in which the Soviet leaders could expand the freedom of their people short of setting up sixteen separate armies and sixteen foreign ministries, complete with diplomats. The average Azerbaijanian or Uzbek might, for example, prefer some of the more personal freedoms mentioned in the Soviet constitution but held in trust pending his coming of age.

Molotov himself emphasized the "international significance" of the move, which he described as being "of great importance from the viewpoint of all progressive humanity." Its great importance can hardly be denied, but we find it difficult to accept Molotov's assurance that it "will constitute a new moral and political blow at fascism." On the contrary, like other recent Soviet diplomatic maneuvers, it is more likely to raise questions concerning Russian intentions than to bridge the ancient gaps between the Soviets and their Western allies.

We do not take seriously the theory that the move is designed to give the Soviet Union sixteen votes at the peace table or in some future association of nations. Power politics rests on power more than on politics, and this kind of arithmetical juggling would be both unnecessary and childish. There are several ways, however, in which the new formula might well enhance the Soviet's international position and profoundly affect the nature of the peace.

Most obvious and not least important, the establishment of sixteen separate foreign offices will give the Soviets a flexibility which may prove highly convenient, enabling the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, for example, to make a treaty with Turkey for which the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic might take no responsibility. More fundamentally—and perhaps this is the real inspiration of the arrangement—the formula would seem designed to remove from the realm of international discussion the issue of the Baltic states, Karelia, and Moldavia, an issue between Russia and the Anglo-American powers which is almost as thorny as the Polish question. Should the Washington and London governments choose to discuss the independence of, say Estonia, Mr. Molotov can politely refer them to the Foreign Minister of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Estonia, who will doubtless inform the Western governments that his state is already independent and sovereign, that it has its own army, and that it is even willing to exchange diplomats; that, in short, the Western powers need have no further concern about Estonian independence.

There is a good possibility that the Western powers may even welcome this trick solution of a problem which they are powerless to solve any other way. The dangerous aspect of the development is that what a Russian-controlled Estonian government can do, a Communist-dominated Yugoslavia of the future might also do, or a Communist-dominated Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, or Rumania. In short, the way has been opened for a Soviet League of Nations which would require

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no strong-arm methods of acquisition on the part of the Russians. In this way a powerful Russian sphere of influence could be established in Eastern Europe at the expense of a broader international organization in which spheres of influence would disappear.

It is entirely possible that no such development will occur. But as long as it *may* occur, the Russians will hold one more trump card in a hand already rich with trumps. We do not believe that the Soviets are committed to such a course, but rather that they are preparing themselves, and magnificently, for any and every exigency. This approach is characteristic of Soviet diplomacy in the past three years. The German Committee in Moscow was another such trump held in reserve. When it became apparent that the Allies meant business about a second front, the card was not played. Unfortunately, each time one of the great powers seeks security reinsurance against a failure of the United Nations Mutual Protection Association, the others feel obliged to take out new policies also. Thus the Soviet Sixteen may be regarded as a reply to moves for an extension of the British sphere of influence forecast in the recent speech of General Smuts. These in turn find inspiration in the new nationalism prevalent in this country and in expansionist tendencies in Moscow. It is clear that the approach to an international organization by way of a "nuclear alliance" of the great powers cannot hope to make headway as long as it is accompanied by simultaneous drives toward the acquisition of spheres of influence. No wonder the small states are bewildered, when at one and the same time they are being invited to adhere to a universal security plan and to enter one or another planetary power group.

Pacific Strategy

THE powerful and successful attack which has been delivered against the Marshall Islands is a further indication that Allied strategy at this stage of the war envisions a major offensive directly across the Pacific by American sea power, supplemented by minor drives from the South Pacific, Burma, and possibly the Aleutians. This conception of Pacific strategy is so different from that commonly expected six or eight months ago, when a major drive from Burma was widely discussed, that its advantages and disadvantages are well worth examining. The chief advantage at this stage of a direct drive across the Pacific—striking successively at the Gilberts, Marshalls, Carolines, and the Philippines—is that of supply. It was possible to assemble the tremendous striking force used in the attack on Kwajalein Atoll only because the battle fleet was operating directly from its main supply base at Pearl Harbor. Seizure of the Marshalls, with their moderately good harbors, will strengthen our supply lines for subsequent advances and will also help us in the South Pacific. This strategy promises quick results; if successful it will cut Japan's lifeline to Singapore and the East Indies. Another advantage of the directly-across-the-Pacific strategy is that it constantly places the Japanese in a position where they must either give up important tactical positions or risk a naval showdown under conditions favorable to the American fleet. This risk is a grave one for the Japanese, for if their navy is smashed they will have lost the war.

Prior to the attack on the Marshalls the chief drawback to a program of direct assault across the Pacific was thought to be its cost in lives. The heavy price paid for Tarawa had a sobering effect on the advocates of this strategy, but the apparent ease with which Kwajalein was seized has shown that where preparations are adequate the cost can be minimized. It must be recognized, however, that as the offensive approaches Formosa and the main Japanese islands the across-the-Pacific strategy will face serious difficulties. Our supply lines will be greatly extended while those of the enemy will be extremely short. And even when we succeed in winning back the Philippines, we shall still be too far from Japan for effective bombing of its main islands.

It was doubtless with this limitation in mind that Admiral Nimitz recently declared that in his opinion "Japan will be defeated from China." From the beginning it has been apparent that China is the logical site for bases from which to launch regular day-after-day air attacks on the Japenese mainland. It was because of this fact that many experts assumed some months ago that the main offensive this winter would be directed against Burma with a view to opening up supply lines to China. Actually, the operations in Burma have been of an extremely minor character—the chief effort, apparently, being centered in North Burma, where a new road to China is being hacked through the jungle. But since no one would pretend that this road, even in conjunction with stepped-up air transport, would be sufficient to supply major American air forces in China, it may be assumed that we are not contemplating any extensive use of Chinese bases in 1944.

One reason for this delay may be political. So far all American air operations in China have been confined to the south. While our South China bases are within range of Formosa and the main ship lanes to the South Pacific, they are useless for attacks on Japan itself. For such attacks bases in North China are essential, but it happens that areas of Free China most suitable for the purpose are in "communist" territory, and so far Chungking has not permitted its allies to establish military posts in the regions under the control of the Eighth Route Army. Until this political obstacle is cleared away, it will be impossible to make full use of China's potentialities.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Cartel Cancer

BY I. F. STONE

Washington February 4

WHERE cartels exist, "competition is not eliminated, but regulated. Competition in quality, efficiency, and service takes the place of the crude method of price-cutting." This nonsense comes from the lips of Sir Felix J. C. Pole. Sir Felix is chairman of Associated Electric Industries, Ltd., and his oleaginous description is being echoed, in a thousand variations, in the subterranean conversations going on here as to the shape of the post-war world. "There are indications," says Senator Harley M. Kilgore, chairman of the subcommittee on war mobilization of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, "that even though cartel and monopoly restrictions have been partly removed during the period of active fighting, cartel and monoply thinking and planning have continued to thrive." This is putting it mildly.

The senior Senator from West Virginia and his colleagues on the subcommittee, in a series of historic hearings, have been looking into the role that cartel and monopoly restrictions play in preventing the full mobilization of our resources in war and peace. The subcommittee's special interest has been in our scientific and technological resources, that is, in brains shackled by monopoly. Today it released its first monograph, "Economic and Political Aspects of International Cartels." This deserves the widest attention.

Your government, ladies and gentlemen, has the most whimsical capacity for inconsistency. Within a few blocks of each other, administrative cheek by bureaucratic jowl, one may find a Wall Street nabob busily engaged in laying the foundations for a greater monopoly than ever in his favorite industry—as a means of furthering the war effort, of course—and a $4,500-a-year employee marshaling the evidence necessary to indict him for it. The battered citadel of the idealists is the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, a collection of poor, deluded, but tireless and exuberant warriors, slaphappy in defeat, ever hopeful that a really stiff sentence under the Sherman Act will rejuvenate a senescent "free" capitalism. Under pressure of the War and Navy departments, the WPB, and the White House, most anti-trust prosecutions have been suspended for the duration, and the Anti-Trust Division's safety valve—the boys are bursting with solid fact and honest indignation—has been to prosecute in the court of public opinion by presenting testimony to Congressional committees. The Kilgore committee is one of them, and this monograph was written for it by Corwin D. Edwards, chairman of the Anti-Trust Division's policy board.

The great value of Edwards's able monograph is that it not only presents much new material that should long ago have been offered in the courts but classifies and analyzes the mass of facts on cartels which has been presented during the past two years before the Truman, Gillette, Bone, and Kilgore committees. Here one will find the definite and exhaustive answer to Sir Felix Pole's bland apologetics. "The central purpose of cartels," Edwards says, hitting it on the nose, "is to maintain prices at levels higher than would otherwise obtain." "A price war," as I. G. Farben expressed it in a 1934 letter to Winthrop Chemical, "is of benefit only to the consumer." Those inclined to believe that cartels substitute "competition in quality, efficiency, and service" for "the crude method of price-cutting" should read the evidence presented by Edwards on the light-bulb cartel. Its principal anxiety seems to have been to produce light bulbs that would wear out sooner and to keep consumers from finding out about the economies of fluorescent lighting. This is a typical, not an exceptional, case. Cartels either stifle technological development or hog its benefits. A striking instance is that of aluminum. At the beginning of 1939 the price of ingot aluminum was almost a cent higher than it had been in 1911. Subsidized competition and an anti-trust suit brought the price down 25 per cent during the war, but profits remained so high that in 1943 the government recovered $76,000,000 from Alcoa by renegotiation on less than $500,000,000 in contracts.

After two generations of American experience with trusts, it would seem unnecessary to repeat these obvious observations. But the town is full of mellifluous phonies assiduously selling the idea that after this war let's have "good" cartels. One of these fellows is a Dutch executive of the N. V. Philips combine, a worldwide network of concerns manufacturing light bulbs and electrical equipment. His dulcet explanations of the need to substitute "the interests of the community" for competition are hardly distinguishable from those of the suaver Nazi theoreticians. The tip-off on his proposals is his statement that "in democratic countries, where freedom is the guiding principle, the primary parties to the [cartel] agreements should be the producers." This is "self-regulation" of business combinations on a larger scale than ever and hardly even in a new guise.

The politically epicene source of this advice—advice which can be duplicated from British and American

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sources—is indicated by Edwards's revelations on what has happened to the Philips combine since the war began. This amazing story, never publicly told before, reveals that the United Nations and Axis branches of this cartel have continued to cooperate and communicate straight through the war. The American trustees, on instructions from the Nazi-controlled main office in Holland, helped a German cartel partner fight a patent suit in the Swedish courts in 1942, turned over certain patents to the Spanish branch, and swapped information with their Axis opposite numbers through a curiously overstaffed Argentine branch. Yet so ingenious are the legal devices of this cartel and so extensive is its political influence that its subsidiaries in neutral countries have not been blacklisted and its properties in countries belonging to the United Nations have not been taken over as enemy-controlled. These are the kind of lice that helped sell out Europe to Hitler and that will destroy free government elsewhere if given half a chance.

It is a mistake to believe that the cartel system was a German plot to curb American production of many vital war materials. Many of the agreements restricting output and raising prices in this country were invited by the American partner rather than initiated by the Germans. Krupp's was selling tungsten carbide here at $50 a pound before General Electric made the cartel deal that jacked it up to $453. The democracies get the worst of these deals because their great monopoly capitalists are hostile to the state and interested only in profit. To Alfred Sloan of General Motors, answering a protest from a stockholder in April, 1939, on its Nazi dealings, it seemed that "an international business . . . should conduct its business in strictly business terms . . . without regard to political beliefs." But business men feel differently in those countries where they regard the state as their instrument rather than as an unreliable servant susceptible to democratic twinges. "An international cartel," said the chairman of the board of Philips's German partner, "has no right of existence . . . if this cartel is acting against the common interests of Germany." This should be clear enough warning as to what will happen if we restore the cartel system and a capitalist Reich.

Unfortunately, this is exactly the direction in which we are headed. The cartel at home means the limitation of production to those levels the big producers consider profitable. Limitation of production means limitation of jobs, and without full employment there will be rich soil here for fascism after the war. No doubt these same big producers will cultivate it. The cartel abroad means the subordination once more of our legitimate national interests to the illegitimate objectives of a Germany bent on revenge. I hope next week to tackle the task of naming the men and influences in Washington which already make it seem an almost hopeless task to achieve full employment after the war and to prevent revival of the cartel system. The two are fatefully linked together.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ONE THING done by the House, after a liberal amount of speech-making and the voting down of everybody's pet phraseology intended to effect the same object, was the passage of the suffrage amendment to the Constitution, by 150 yeas to 42 nays. As this, if concurred in by the Senate, will share the wandering fate of most amendments and be debated long after its wording and almost its substance are forgotten, it may be as well to record it verbatim: "Art. —, Sec. 1. The right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or any state, by reason of race or color or previous condition of slavery, of any citizen or class of citizens of the United States. Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."—*February 4, 1869.*

TO THE EDITOR of *The Nation.* Sir: As I do not believe in the efficacy of repealing God's laws by statute, either as affecting the value of money, the hours of labor, or the phases of the moon, I suppose I cannot be called, in popular parlance, an admirer or friend of the laboring man. [Unsigned.] Boston.—*February 4, 1869.*

THE GREAT BULK of the railroad stocks of the country have been, by waste, mismanagement, and fraud, materially reduced in value during the last two years; comparatively few of them pay regular cash dividends; many of them have been doubled and trebled in quantity without representing a single additional dollar in property; yet they are selling today from 25 to 75 per cent higher than a year ago.—*February 11, 1869.*

1,000 MILES of the Union Pacific Railroad are now completed. As 500 miles of the western portion of the line, beginning at Sacramento, are also done, but 267 miles remain to be finished to open the Grand Through Line to the Pacific. The opening will certainly take place early this season. First mortgage bonds at par. . . . Subscriptions will be received in New York at the company's office. (ADVT.)—*February 11, 1869.*

"THE RING AND THE BOOK." By Robert Browning, A.M. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. . . . When the art is not to perfect a jewel but to cut facets, the artist may work at any length. It is a sort of art that fascinates those who have once formed a taste for it; but it is likely to call forth exaggerated admiration, and to make the simplicity of really great works seem tame, and, after the first neglect and contempt are weathered, to be estimated at far too high a rate. It is also, when practiced by a master, admirable and profitable. As for this particular specimen of it, we feel it will be as well to speak of it when it is completed, and meantime to commend it to all lovers of poetry.—*February 18, 1869.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Myth and the Peace

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

I

IN NO other country has the achievement of the business man given him the status and prestige which are his in the United States. His power to secure American civilization against the evils from which the Old World has suffered is a primary article of the American religion. The profundity of that faith was exhibited in the dramatic bewilderment with which the American people awakened to the grim reality of the Great Depression. It was exhibited, once more, in the natural acceptance by the masses of a hostility to the New Deal expressed in the reiteration—as if they were the eternal laws of nature—of the very principles out of which the Great Depression had emerged. That the decade after 1929, in which only vast-scale intervention secured perhaps a quarter to a fifth of the American people against the consequences of unemployment, should still have left the theory of business enterprise as it was framed by the economists in the thirty years before 1914 the habitual framework of ordinary American thought, is testimony to the completeness of the business man's intellectual victory in that social revolution we call the Civil War.

Every religious faith requires an appropriate mythology by which it can maintain itself. So far as possible, it must not be open to critical examination, and men must take its axioms and postulates as so self-evident that they grow angry when these are called into question. No one, I suggest, can investigate the mythology of American business without seeing how fully it has created these conditions. Its exponents speak of it as though it represented enterprise as personal as any practiced in the days of Jeffersonian democracy, with opportunities for the newcomer as great as those in what Mark Twain called the Gilded Age. They assume that no men work as well or as efficiently for the state as they do for themselves; and they insist that the worker in a vast corporation like that of Ford or General Motors is in truth working for himself. They have no doubt that bodies like the National Association of Manufacturers or the American Chamber of Commerce are means of promoting the historical American way of life; and they are equally without doubt that this way of life is persistently jeopardized by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. They believe that the "principles of individual freedom" are the secret of national well-being; and when they protect those principles from the poison of state action they believe themselves to be trustees of the American heritage. They insist that the interests of capital and labor are one and indivisible; yet they praise the famous Mohawk Valley Formula as a "real contribution to civic dignity," even though the National Labor Relations Board criticized the Remington-Rand Corporation for its application of the formula—its "use of spies, missionaries, and armed guards, . . . attempts to turn civil authorities and business and other interests in the various cities against the union . . . by intensive publicity and propaganda . . . based upon deliberate falsehoods."

The exponents of business preach all this in a world increasingly controlled by the practices of monopoly, increasingly haunted by the specter of mass unemployment, increasingly perplexed by the disappearance of the opportunity for investment, increasingly dependent upon the action of the state, whether in the realm of tariffs or subsidies, of currency policies or the assurance of a proper balance between production and consumption. Few of them realize how completely economic science has abandoned the equilibrium theory upon which their mythology was based. Still fewer seem capable of grasping the degree to which the social function of the entrepreneur has become obsolete. And the number of those who understand that, in its evolution, American business philosophy has destroyed the system of values upon which its security depended is smallest of all. Freedom of contract is in large part a historical category which old men are just able to remember as a living principle of action. Emotional faith in the values of capitalism can be felt by the masses in brief periods of high employment, but the close of capitalism's expanding phase means that these are approximately attained only in times of war.

For reasons which, with the insight of genius, Marx glimpsed almost a century ago, the death knell of the capitalist system, so far at least as the system is geared to democratic methods, has sounded. A faith which requires an atmosphere of rationality and security has lost the secret of both. American democracy may transform its economic basis by adjustments massive enough to enable it to satisfy the demands of the common man. It will certainly not repeat in the future such achievements for the common man as it was capable of in the past without a radical change in its economic ways of life. Like the Roman Catholic church in the time of Luther and Calvin, it is confronting a challenge which goes to the root of every dogma its business men believe.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What they have now to decide is whether it is a Reformation or a Counter-Reformation that they will attempt.

II

What makes the decision of the American business man so important is the fact that it will, for at least a considerable period, have vital consequences for the rest of the world. A wrong decision may seal the fate of Europe. A wrong decision may postpone for perhaps two generations the development of the potential economic power of China and India. Most serious of all, given the contrasting economic motivations of the United States and the Soviet Union, a wrong decision may lead to relationships which will make difficult the avoidance of the third world war. It is not too much to say that upon the decision of the American business man in the next half-dozen years will depend the future of civilization and the fate of all men and women now alive.

It is not hard to see why this must be the case. American productive capacity will emerge from this war not only unimpaired but immensely greater than in 1939. Assuming the present distribution of wealth in the United States, this would probably mean something like fifteen million unemployed, a condition which would affect about one-third of the American people. It becomes evident that unless the American economy is profoundly altered, the only way to avoid such unemployment is by the capture of foreign markets. This raises the difficulty not only of the American tariff and its relation to international trade but of the effect upon the living standards of other peoples of any large-scale loss of their foreign trade through American competition. It is clear that a considerable part of the world must look to the United States not only for food and medicinal drugs but also for the reequipment in the capital-goods industries, especially for the machine tools, which will make possible a rapid recovery of their economic life.

It is not to be expected that either the American government or the American people would be willing, for any considerable period of time, to become a kind of Santa Claus to the rest of the world; and any such dependence for other nations, after recovery has begun, would be undesirable. What, then, becomes urgent is to create conditions which permit the fullest resumption of international trade; in particular, to raise economic standards in backward countries—in India, for example, or China—by a long-term policy of capital investment and development at low rates of interest. The obvious advantage of this policy is the simple and unmistakable one that it encourages that increase in the consuming power of backward countries which alone, in any final way, solves the problems of international trade without encouraging a drift to economic imperialism, the source of so many of the world's agonies. Unequal development in economic life, with dependence, as in Africa, upon a major state superior in wealth and power, means a struggle between the richer states for the opportunity to exploit the poorer. If we tread that road, no protestations of friendship or love of peace will suffice to prevent the third world war.

The part of wisdom in these matters is to accept the need for frankness. The economic pattern in the mind of the average American business man is hardly of the sort which a constructive economic internationalism will require. The slow progress of Mr. Hull's attempt to lower American tariff walls; the indignation which has been heaped upon the sound principles laid down by Henry Wallace; the latent antagonism, still very profound, to the Soviet experiment among American business men; the continued resistance of the trade unions to resumption of immigration on a reasonable scale; the hostility, which is not confined to the "economic royalists," to anything which savors of the New Deal, and the use of the war to compel the liquidation of many of its most admirable features; the conviction, in part conscious though in greater proportion hardly conscious at all, that the next age is to be the "American century," in which the principles of American economic life, applied in world terms, will enable the United States to realize its "manifest destiny"—all of these are hints, impulses, perspectives from which the European observer finds it hard to draw much comfort. Where to him the outstanding lesson of this war is the futility of sovereignty in the economic realm, the need for large functional experiments like the proposed T. V. A. for the Danubian Valley in the international field, the danger of a system in which great international cartels can deal with states as though they too were equal international powers, the evil of any industrial self-government which permits the owners of property to dictate the habits and conditions of production in the field they control, this is in no sense the predominant American business attitude.

The great organizations which represent commerce and industry in the United States still think in terms far more appropriate to the age of Harding and Coolidge than to our own. They cling to a fantasy called the "American way of life" even though it is abundantly clear that its procedures were responsible for the Great Depression, and that, were they again given an opportunity, their effect would be no different in nature, if more tragic in intensity, than they were in 1929. American business men adopt criteria of action which assume, first, that the well-being of the United States can be achieved whatever may happen to the rest of the world, and, second, that whatever is done by the state power in behalf of its citizens is not only bound to be badly done but certain, in some mysterious fashion, to injure the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

citizen's energy and initiative. There is no general understanding in the business community of the paradox of "poverty in the midst of potential plenty" or of its relation to the problems of international peace. Business men do not see that internal expansion, with an increasingly diffused well-being, is the main safeguard against those aggressive economic policies which breed bad international relations. Few of them pause to understand that the misery of the share-cropper in the South and of the four million American-born refugees who are politely put in the category of "migratory labor," the reduction of hundreds of thousands of farmers from the status of owner to that of tenant, the existence—for example, in the mill towns of the South—of millions of underpaid and underprivileged workers, all have grave repercussions on the international problem. It was not an evil-minded British Socialist but so conservative and respectable a figure as Sumner Welles who declared (October 7, 1941) that America's "high tariff policy reached out to virtually every corner of the earth, and brought poverty and despair to innumerable communities." Mr. Welles in that utterance was speaking the language of sober common sense. But he will have a hard row to hoe if he is going to persuade the American Chamber of Commerce or the National Association of Manufacturers to accept its implications when the war is won.

The problem would not be solved even if American business men were to accept the kind of foreign policy which Walter Lippmann has recommended with a persuasiveness that is not less characteristic than his oversimplification. For the theory of the "nuclear alliance" that he advocates is based on two wholly unexamined assumptions. The first is that the state power is, generally speaking, a neutral factor between contending interests in society; and the second is, as an inference, that foreign policy is the outcome of the operation of forces which express in a permanent way the national interest. Having made but not examined these assumptions, Mr. Lippmann pleads eloquently for the establishment of an "order in which the other peoples find that their liberties are recognized by laws that the great powers respect and that all peoples are compelled to observe."

But Mr. Lippmann forgets that respect for the law depends upon what it does. If men feel with any intensity that what it does goes against some vital interest they feel entitled to promote, their concern will be not to respect the law but to change it. The purpose of Hitler and Mussolini and Tojo was precisely to effect this change. That has been the purpose of Franco in Spain. It has been the purpose of the satellite Axis powers like Hungary and Rumania and Italy. Mr. Lippmann would not dream of asserting that the state power, say in Hungary, was neutral as between the landowner and the peasant; and I think he would in all probability agree that Hungarian foreign policy was concerned less with the general well-being of Hungary than with preserving the special privilege of a small class. The "order" we need to build, the only order that is likely to maintain the peace, is one from which the participants are persuaded they derive greater benefit than they would from its dissolution. And each participant views his position not in general or in objective terms but in terms of its consequences and the judgment he makes of those consequences. British rule in India seems one thing to Mr. Churchill and another thing to Pandit Nehru, because the platform on which each of them stands when he makes his judgment is so different. I hazard the guess that Mr. Stimson, in a similar way, held a view of American intervention in Nicaragua which General Sandino did not find himself able to share.

From this I conclude two things: first, that as Marx said, the ruling ideas of an age are the ideas of its ruling class; and, second, that the ideas of any ruling class, beneath the rhetoric by which they are justified, are determined by the situation it desires to maintain or promote. The ideas of America's ruling class—its business men—are set by their conviction that the less government intervenes in the field of economic enterprise the better off everybody is going to be. They are amazed, to quote William Benton, that Englishmen, even those of a conservative temper, "do not understand that our faith in the individualistic system springs not only from our belief that such a system promises the greatest economic progress; we would still prefer individualism, even on non-economic grounds, to what seems the only practical alternative, a government-controlled economy." This conviction is unshaken by the breakdown in the United States itself of the historical experience to which, during the opening of the continent, it could look for support. Business is undisturbed by the magic failure of its faith, under Coolidge, that the problem of poverty had been solved. After having been saved from shipwreck by Mr. Roosevelt, especially in the first period of the New Deal, it has been encouraged by the full employment achieved in a war economy —which it somehow does not recognize as a "government-controlled economy"—to reaffirm all its fly-blown platitudes as if they were the latest findings of economic science, although in the last fifteen years the foremost exponents of economic science have spent much of their energy exploding the illusions which American business men still think of as laws of nature.

The problem which this philosophy presents to the world is therefore as simple as it is profound. The world can no longer afford to depend upon the results of an individualist economy in a country so vital to the future of the world as the United States; but American

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

business men believe that an individualist economy is the key to progress. The world is increasingly convinced that grave economic disparities within and between nations, above all in their standards of life, are a threat to peace and security; American business men still think that action taken by the state power, whether on the national or the international plane, to correct these disparities is somewhat like interfering with the decrees of a Providence which in the light of their immemediate power and prospects they are tempted to regard as divine. The nations of the world are increasingly conscious of their interdependence, and draw therefrom the inference that national sovereignty is fatal to the cosmopolitan lawmaking which interdependence implies; American business men look at the remarkable productive capacity of the United States, the immense authority derived from it, and conclude that the abrogation of national sovereignty is a threat to the benefits that authority confers. Though they speak of the need for peace with sincerity and enthusiasm, they are blind to the fundamental causes of war. Though as individuals they are capable of remarkable generosity, as leaders of commerce and industry they have not yet learned the secret of social justice. All of them would regard with contempt and derision an attempt to establish in the United States the outworn principle of the divine right of kings; but few of them see any reason why society should refuse to accept an economic system of which the essence is an affirmation of the divine right of business men.

III

It becomes difficult, when the philosophy of American business is closely examined, to reconcile its implications with the conditions, national and international, which peace exacts. This philosophy lacks imaginative insight; it does not see clearly that the interests it expresses are narrow and mean and crude. It mistakes bigness for grandeur, and the power of salesmanship for the art of creation. It is the creed of a plutocracy, of men who aspire to membership in the plutocracy; and it is so passionately devoted to the struggle for economic power that it is altogether lacking in those political instincts which, in the past, an aristocracy has shown itself to possess. The philosophy of the Ameri-

OFF WITH CONTROLS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE (just like last time)
Liberty
DON'T YOU KNOW ME, BOYS? I'M WHAT YOU'RE FIGHTING FOR!
Free Blimp remnant

EGREGIOUS IMPOSTOR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can business man breeds resentment only among those to whom it cannot bring success. Its exponents are driven by its inner logic to search for power in ways that enslave the masses whom they employ. That is why they insist that even such elementary social legislation as the prohibition of child labor is a threat to freedom, and why they have never been able to understand the meaning of Justice Holmes's famous aphorism that freedom of contract begins where equality of bargaining powers begins. Yet, rightly enough, they have a confused intuition that in a society where equality of bargaining power exists, democracy will of necessity have transcended the philosophy of American business.

The truth is that this philosophy, in all its essentials, is no more than a new edition, varying in sophistication with the man who expounds it, of the doctrines of Machiavelli and Hobbes. It is power politics, now clothed, as by former Congressman Bruce Barton, with the blasphemous fig leaves of a theology which makes Jesus Christ the permanent president of an advertising convention, now appearing in the simpler form that captivated Calvin Coolidge—the rich are the natural guardians of the national well-being. It has reached the stage where, to maintain the present conformation of power, it must make war upon all who challenge its authority from within; and it is therefore bound presently to discover that the best way to forestall that challenge is to extend, by war if need be, the frontiers within which it can operate. American business men are, in short, enmeshed in the snares of a contradiction which threatens tragedy to the whole world in the next generation. In their hearts they want peace as ardently as the youth whom war snatches from farm or factory or college and casts upon an atoll in the South Pacific. But in their minds they cannot conceive peace to be just if it means that they are the servants, not the masters, of civilization. Republican or Democrat, Northerner or Southerner or Westerner, the democratic faith they profess is at final variance with the economic institutions by which they live. Not unless, in the next half-dozen years, they learn the supreme lesson that an enduring society cannot be built with the cash nexus is there any great hope of avoiding catastrophe. Nor will the conflict they are preparing be less disastrous because when the time comes they will attempt, like all their predecessors, to set it in the rhetoric of justice.

[*This is the second of several articles by Mr. Laski which will appear during the winter and spring.*]

Propaganda Wins Battles

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

WHATEVER criticism may be leveled against our long-range political strategy in this war, operations in that narrower field of tactics usually termed psychological warfare have been conducted with dispatch and efficiency. In North Africa, Sicily, and southern Italy the psychological offensive saved many thousands of American lives. Some of its methods are described here for the first time.

When Italy capitulated, it was doubtful at first whether the fleet would also surrender. There was only one way to reach it by radio—through the international distress-signal band. Robert Morris Pierce, chief radio officer of the Office of War Information in the Mediterranean area, worked all night to transform the Algiers transmitters to this band before the Nazis could learn that Italy had yielded and capture or immobilize the Italian ships. As soon as the change in wave length was accomplished, an appeal was sent out every fifteen minutes, urging the fleet to proceed to Malta. The message got through, the commanders complied, and the lives of many Italian and Allied sailors were spared.

American propaganda warfare as an adjunct to military action had its first real test in the Mediterranean theater. OWI men traveled with the army right up to the front lines. They were the only civilian government employees who were permitted to go into Italy and Sicily with the first wave of the invasion. Their work both at the base and in forward combat areas will serve as a rough model for news, radio, leaflet, and other operations when United Nations troops move against the Western coast of Europe. General Marshall recognized its success when he said, "The effect of psychological warfare and propaganda on enemy soldiers and enemy civilians seems too well known . . . to need proof of its necessity."

The psychological high command in the Mediterranean area is the Psychological Warfare Branch (PWB), which coordinates the activities of the OWI Overseas Branch, part of the Office of Strategic Services, the British Political Warfare Executive, and the British Ministry of Information. General policy is controlled by Allied Headquarters. The PWB's main weapon is propaganda, of which it employs three major kinds. Long-range, sometimes called strategic, propaganda is used to soften up

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the enemy on his home front. Leaflets, flown by long-range bombers, and radio do the job. This type of propaganda might be called the artillery of psychological warfare. After the artillery barrage has weakened the enemy's position, the combat troops move in. They use what is known as tactical propaganda, and its effectiveness against the enemy has been demonstrated. Eighty per cent of the prisoners taken in the North African and Italian campaigns admitted that they were influenced to surrender by propaganda leaflets which were carried through the lines by patrols, dropped from planes, or shot over the lines in pamphlet-bearing shells. The third kind of propaganda is started when our troops have occupied enemy territory. Newspapers, movies, posters, and news photographs are utilized for this so-called "mopping-up."

In the first phase of our psychological campaign in the Mediterranean the OWI's short-wave radio in the United States broadcast to Italy the facts of its hopeless position —the long record of its defeats on land and sea, the loss of its African empire. Mussolini was exposed as a wrong guesser, a lackey of Hitler, a leader who went into the war when he thought it was won; Germany, as an ally which held Italy in contempt, which sacrificed both the Italian economy and Italian troops for the German cause. The Italian people were told how the fleeing Germans had abandoned Italian troops in the field, robbing them of their own vehicles; the words of Italian generals themselves were used to drive these points home. The domestic front was also reminded of Germany's plundering of Italian food stocks. Italy, it was reiterated, was fighting not its own but Germany's war, and Mussolini and the Fascist Party were to blame.

This story was repeated over the medium-wave radio from Algiers by means of live broadcasts and recordings. It was rebroadcast from London to Italy over British Broadcasting Corporation transmitters. It was cabled from New York to Switzerland and Turkey, whence it seeped over the border into Italy and into the ranks of Italian garrisons in the Balkans. The voices and words of hundreds of Americans—of the President, members of Congress, labor leaders, churchmen, workers, people from every walk of American life—were used to show that all America knew this to be the truth and wanted the Italians to know it.

Millions of leaflets bearing the same message were showered upon the enemy's cities, towns, and army camps. Between February, 1943, and the fall of Mussolini on July 25 approximately 45,000,000 leaflets were prepared by the PWB. "These," according to Colonel C. B. Hazeltine, commanding officer of the PWB, "were directed chiefly against Mussolini's war and Fascism." "A PWB officer," Hazeltine says, "flew over Trapani dropping leaflets addressed to the people of the town, calling on them to put out white flags to save the city. By the time he flew back after his leaflets had been dropped, the town looked as though all the washing in the world were hung out there. Every habitable quarter showed white."

The propaganda addressed to enemy troops, the second phase of the campaign, was even more effective. Italian soldiers were asked if they wanted to die for Hitler or live for Italy. Italian sailors were urged not to sacrifice Italian ships for German soldiers. "The effectiveness of the psychological warfare," Colonel Hazeltine reports, "can be judged by what one captured Italian general said—that he could do nothing to maintain the morale of his men when they were plastered with hundreds of these leaflets every day, when there was no question but that these leaflets told the truth. . . . Every enemy soldier who came over with a safe-conduct stopped shooting a clip or two earlier than he would have done oherwise. Multiply a few rounds [of ammunition] by the number of prisoners taken, and you begin to get an idea of just how many extra cartridges were *not* fired into our lines."

At one point in the battle for Tunisia General Sir Harold Alexander, the British commander, ordered a five-day leaflet campaign to soften up the enemy. Admiral Cunningham, the Allied naval chief, requested that leaflets be dropped on the island of Lampedusa after the surrender of Pantelleria. Leaflets gave the Italian commander of Pantelleria his first knowledge of General Spaatz's demand that the island surrender.

Reporting on the third phase of psychological warfare, Colonel Hazeltine says: "After troops have occupied an area, a PWB team comes up from the rear to take over the work begun by the combat team, which usually enters the area with the first troops. The job of this second team is to help Allied occupation authorities restore the area to normal life." Using all means of communication, the PWB tries to convince the population "that the Allied armies have come as liberators, and that the principles for which those armies fight are pretty much what average people everywhere believe in when they are not being pushed around by dictators of one kind or another."

Sicily and southern Italy are now receiving a steady stream of cabled news and pictures designed to show the victims of Nazi-Fascist oppression what the world has been doing, saying, and thinking: Allied news reels for people who have seen nothing but shots of Stuka dive-bombers, of Nazi armies advancing through defenseless areas in 1940 and 1941, and of Mussolini shouting from the Palazzo Venezia; publications to take the place of those ruled by Goebbels and Gayda; and radio photographs revealing the industrial and military might of the United Nations from the Southwest Pacific to the Russian steppes. The Cable-Wireless Division of the OWI in New York transmits more than 900,000 words a week

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to outposts in Europe and North Africa to furnish the text for this propaganda.

An OWI outpost in Algiers reported on September 15: "The first post-invasion anti-Fascist newspaper, *Sicilia Liberata,* was organized and edited by PWB-OWI newsmen. . . . Starting out as a one-page tabloid sheet of 2,000 copies, it has since been stepped up to four pages with a weekly run of 50,000 copies. It is staffed by Sicilians. Photos are supplied by PWB–OWI photographers, and plastic plates [light-weight and non-critical material] are flown from Algiers. The paper has one column in English and carries anti-Fascist political news and general news on local subjects."

Radio Palermo on the north shore of Sicily was captured by a PWB detachment which entered the city with the first half-dozen American troops. The Fascist manager was caught with written instructions to destroy the station; he had had no chance to carry them out. In three hours Radio Palermo was on the air, telling Sicily and Italy the United Nations' story of the war.

For twenty-three years the Sicilians had been subjected to the most intense propaganda by the Fascists through the medium of motion pictures. The PWB found many of the theaters on the island bombed out, but six were soon opened in Palermo to show films of America at war, Allied newsreels, and American shorts. The lobbies were used to display posters and pamphlets relayed from Algiers.

During the battles for Sicily and southern Italy propaganda was the main work of the Cairo outpost of the OWI, working with the British. One of Cairo's important jobs in recent months has been the building of a stockpile of propaganda material for eventual use in the Balkans. Lessons learned in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy will probably be put to good use when the Allies translate their plans for that region into military action. Already thousands of leaflets based on intelligence received from Greece, Yugoslavia, and other Balkan countries are being prepared in Cairo and dropped over southeastern Europe.

In the Mediterranean area all OWI outposts are monitoring stations, and the results of their listening to the enemy radio are made available to the PWB in North Africa, to the military command, and to OWI offices in the United States. Forward combat teams also monitor the enemy radio for the benefit of the army field commanders.

Psychological warfare as a branch of military warfare has proved its usefulness. As Colonel Hazeltine told his men, "Its job is to attack the enemy's morale—his will to fight—to soften him up and make him easier to beat in the field. . . . It will be for you to decide whether or not this new science of war helps bring the successful end a little sooner for us—and a little less expensively in Allied lives and material."

In the Wind

AN AMERICAN OFFICER who didn't wait for Pearl Harbor but joined the Canadian army immediately after Dunkirk and has since fought the Nazis with the British and American armies in every theater of war in North Africa and the Middle East, wrote a letter to Representative Taber of New York taking exception to his demagogic attacks on the OWI. "Anybody with brains enough to come in out of the rain," he wrote, "ought to know that intelligently directed propaganda can weaken the enemy in advance of our troops and thus save the lives of our American lads fighting overseas." Taber, who voted against lifting the arms embargo, against lend-lease, against arming merchant ships, etc., etc., etc., replied: "I have your letter of the fourth. I can think of nobody but a pro-German who would write the letter."

UNDERTAKERS HAVE BEEN ASKED by the OPA to return any ration books found on the deceased.

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TWO GIRLS overheard in New York (but it might have been overheard anywhere): "Do you know of any unattached men?" "Yes, but I'm not passing them around."

STATION WJBK, DETROIT, has canceled the contract of the Polish Unionists' Radio Hour on the ground that the program "tended to promote discord among the local Polish-speaking people." The program consisted of music and a commentary by State Senator Stanley Nowak. It expressed opposition to the activities of the Polish government in exile and to the Nazis.

ADVERTISEMENTS WILL SOON start appearing for the Kant-Tangle Rosary.

A NEW ORGANIZATION, the Gentile League, has been chartered in Wisconsin. One of its incorporators, asked if it was anti-Semitic, replied that it was pro-Gentile and pro-American.

THE *RUBICON,* an Italian American news letter of extremely conservative views, offers this post-mortem on Willkie's 1940 campaign: "Willkie made some mistakes about foreign policy. Had he stuck to the sort of speeches he made for the Commonwealth and Southern, however, he would have won."

FESTUNG EUROPA: German farmers have become so accustomed to exploiting foreign workers that the government recently reminded them that native Germans evacuated from bombed cities should not be treated like "cheap labor." . . . A special prison camp has been established in Holland for factory women who, in the opinion of the Nazis, do not work hard enough.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany, Economic Heart of Europe

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

[*With this issue the Political War Section begins publication of a group of articles dealing with the problems which the United Nations and Germany will face when the National Socialist regime has been destroyed. By presenting a number of widely divergent views on the political, economic, and social outlook for Germany, we hope to contribute to a better understanding of the complexities which must be resolved before Germany can take its place once more in a peaceful community of nations.*]

THE wishes of the German people will hardly be the most important factor in determining the immediate future of Germany after Hitler's defeat. Rather, the German people will be the object of an understanding between Russia on one side and the Anglo-Saxon powers on the other as to the future of Germany—and of Europe. Any analysis of Germany's future, therefore, must begin with two questions: What are the aims of Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers? And what are the resources they can apply to the achievement of those aims?

Russia's position can already be discerned pretty clearly. The Soviet Union has defeated the Nazi armies at the cost of terrible, almost superhuman, sacrifices. Of all the warring countries it has sustained the largest loss of life and the worst destruction of industry and agriculture. Its first war aim is that it shall never have to fight such a war again. At any price, Germany must be made powerless to build another army to fight Russia.

To this end, the Russians' minimum demand will be a hand in the political control of Germany, in order to eliminate the possibility that at any time, under any circumstances, Germany might again become a military power and take part in an anti-Russian coalition. (A maximum demand would be the inclusion of Germany in a Russian coalition.) The Soviet Union will not retreat from this minimum demand. Has it the strength to enforce it? Everything indicates that it has. After the defeat of Nazi Germany Russia will be, without any doubt, the one overtowering military land power on the continent of Europe. However strong the second-front armies of the Anglo-Saxon powers may be, the Red Army will be stronger. And in addition, its bases will be right next door to Germany. Recent battles have shown clearly that the military strength of Soviet Russia is so great that no other power will be able to oppose it.

In the present war of factories and production Russia's all-powerful land army is an expression of its economic strength. After World War I Russia's industrial production was only a fraction of that of France. In the course of the five-year plans, however, Russia grew so strong that long before the outbreak of World War II it was producing more than France or even England.

In 1913, before World War I, England was more highly industrialized than France and tremendously more so than czarist Russia. England's coal production was 292,000,000 tons, against Russia's 29,094 tons—a ratio of ten to one. England's pig-iron production was more than twice that of Russia, 10,425,000 tons against 4,216,000. Iron-ore production was almost twice as great, 16,248,000 tons against 9,214,000. The industrial superiority of England was still overwhelming ten years after the end of World War I. In 1928 England produced 8,656,000 tons of steel, Russia 4,253,000; England 6,716,000 tons of pig iron, Russia 3,375,000; England 241,300,000 tons of coal, Russia 35,808,000; England 11,443,000 tons of iron ore, Russia 6,024,000.

But during the next decade, from 1928 to 1938, the situation was reversed. In 1938, one year before the beginning of the Second World War, Russia's production of steel surpassed the combined output of England and France and its production of pig iron nearly equaled theirs, as the following table shows:

PRODUCTION IN 1938 (TONS)

	England	*France*	*Russia*
Steel	10,394,000	6,077,000	18,156,000
Pig Iron	10,763,000	5,954,000	14,756,000

In the same year England produced 12,049,531 tons of iron ore, Russia 26,529,700. Russia's coal production still lagged far behind England's, but in 1942 the Third Five-Year Plan called for 230,000,000 tons, approximately the same as England's production for 1938.

In order to understand Russia's present position in relation to Europe it must be remembered that in 1939 the Soviets, in all important fields of heavy industry, produced as much as the whole of continental Europe excluding Germany. It is true that Russian industry has suffered the most severe losses in the war; but it is also true that plants in the Moscow area, as well as those in the Urals and Soviet Asia, have been expanded at top

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speed. The latest military events indicate how strong the Soviet Union is industrially despite the great losses it has sustained.

Russia's second demand after the defeat of Germany will be for aid in rebuilding its own devastated areas. If necessary it could do the job alone, as it did after the First World War; but it could do it better and more quickly with the help of the Anglo-Saxon powers, particularly of the United States. And here is one of the important bases for agreement between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers on the question of the future of Germany and Europe. The two things that Britain and the United States are able to offer Russia today are, first, a second front, to hasten the defeat of Germany and relieve Russia of making most of the sacrifices in the final phase of the war, and, second, economic help after the war in the form of industrial machinery and also of raw materials, to speed up the process of reconstruction. These two contributions by the Anglo-Saxon powers were the basis of negotiations at Moscow and Teheran, as they will be in later phases of the war and in the period immediately after the war. But it must be understood that nothing will induce Russia to yield on its minimum demands as to Germany.

What do the Anglo-Saxon powers plan for the future of Germany after the defeat of Hitler? We don't know. No document exists that throws any light on the subject. None could exist, for the Anglo-Saxon powers have no positive political program in Europe; the destruction of the Nazi state is their only clear aim. The question naturally arises, What then? To this question the ruling groups in the Anglo-Saxon world have thus far given no answer—at best they have replied with the negative statement that there must be no social revolution in Germany or anywhere else. It is likely that some understanding on this point was reached at Moscow and Teheran. If the Russians can (1) establish their boundaries with Poland, Finland, Rumania, and other neighbors to their own satisfaction, (2) set up in the countries between Russia and Germany governments friendly to Russia—like that of Czechoslovakia under Benes, (3) participate sufficiently in the control of Germany to guarantee that its military potential will not be turned against them, and (4) get substantial help from America in reconstructing their liberated territory, then they will have reason to refrain from encouraging revolutionary movements in Germany immediately after Hitler's collapse. In this connection it is worth recalling that all the propaganda Russia has directed at the Germans thus far during the war has avoided any really strong socialist appeal.

Very well. Suppose Russia agrees not to support a revolutionary socialist movement. What, then, do the Anglo-Saxon powers propose to do about the political future of Germany? In the United States and England during the past year shelves of books and hundreds of articles have been produced recommending the dismemberment of Germany proper. To prove that this is the only possible course it is explained that the Germans are by nature aggressive and that therefore the only guaranty that they will not start another war is the political destruction of their country. I shall not enter upon a discussion of the German character in this article; I would merely remind the Vansittarts high and low that the Russians, who have suffered most of all from German aggression, do not demand that Germany be dismembered; rather, they demand that the groups which promoted aggression—the Junkers and the big industrialists—be destroyed. The Russians are opposed to dismemberment for very simple reasons: they know that it would not last; and they know that Russia, unlike the United States, must live and work on the same continent with Germans.

All makers of plans for Germany's future would do well to bear in mind that this "Germany" does not exist in a vacuum but in the center of Europe; that it is the principal industrial country of Europe; and that any move designed to destroy it would have an important influence on the European, and hence on the world, parallelogram of force.

I have already indicated that Russia, in return for certain concessions, may undertake not to further a revolutionary socialist movement in Germany. However, its influence on the country will be great in any case. Let us suppose that the Anglo-Saxon powers seek to dismember Germany after the war. What would be the result? Britain and the United States will certainly have the strength to dictate dismemberment, but they will not have the strength to win the assent of the German people. All signs indicate that the vast majority would be against it—not only the former Nazis, who of course will not all be wiped out, but also the former German Nationalists, who were the backbone of the conservative right, all degrees of liberals, who had worked for more than a hundred years for a united Germany, and practically the whole working class—the Social Democrats, the Communists, and the former trade unions, which always opposed separatist tendencies.

If the Anglo-Saxon powers, against the will and sentiment of 90 per cent of the population, decide to dismember the country, hatred for them will mount. At the same time good-will toward Russia will spread far beyond the circle of the German Communists, far beyond certain military circles, until it includes a majority of the people. In their eyes Soviet Russia will be the only great power not committed to the dismemberment of their country—and of course the only great power not encouraging fascist tendencies in Europe.

It would be a prodigy of historical irony if the Anglo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Saxon powers, after having obtained through concessions and compromises a share with Russia in the control of Germany, should pursue policies that would directly and indirectly strengthen the hand of the Soviet Union.

So it is to be hoped that Germany will be allowed to remain undivided in its 1919 boundaries. Only on that condition will the progressive left forces which are capable of setting up a socialist democracy be able gradually to win the upper hand. Nothing would so injure their growth or so limit their accomplishment as the rise of a new German nationalism, a development which would be greatly accelerated by any dismemberment of Germany.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IN MYTHOLOGICAL times there was a hydra—a monster with one body and several heads. In our times there is a hydra of the opposite kind, with one head and two bodies. This hydra is the administrative machinery of the Nazi state. For Germany is governed by two sets of administrative officials, those of the state and of the party, with one head over both. The bodies controlled by the common head are entirely separate. In fact, they are rivals; a jealous enmity seethes between the professional civil servants of the state government and the hundreds of thousands of parasites of the party machine, who have come up from nothing. Only their common head keeps the two bodies from attacking each other. This peculiar relationship was illustrated recently by strange occurrences in the province of Kurhesse.

For some reason which no one understands, Kurhesse is the only province in which the highest government office has not been merged with the highest party office. The party *Gauleiter* and the *Oberpräsident* of the state government are two different persons. Now, after Cassel, the capital of the province, was heavily bombed in November, the Gauleiter was suddenly removed from office —"his request for a long sick leave has been granted"— and a new Gauleiter by the name of Karl Gerland was appointed. Exactly what had happened is not clear, but it seems certain that there was a violent row between the bureaucrats of the state government and of the party. The fall of the Gauleiter indicates that the Oberpräsident, a Prince Richard von Hessen, won the day.

All the more astounding therefore was the speech made by the new Gauleiter on taking office on December 5. It was one long explosion of anger and threats against the rival administration. The new Nazi chief declared that he would finally make the party machine "predominant" and obtain for it "complete freedom of action" in the province. "Anti-social elements," he said, had been too much in control in Kurhesse. "I shall exterminate these bad examples in public positions in such a manner that the fate of those who are not capable of being good examples will serve at least as a deterrent. I shall eliminate from office anyone who transgresses the lofty laws given us by the Führer." And in what was plainly a baiting allusion to the Oberpräsident, the Prince von Hessen, he continued, "I cannot educate into a good party comrade a man who by virtue of his racial antecedents does not belong to our people. We have not got rid of the Jews in order to make place for a degenerate variation on them. We National Socialists have not fought for years to see another mongrel race of exploiters take the place of the exterminated Jews."

It is probable that the Prince von Hessen has foreign, though not Jewish, "racial antecedents." In this local war between the party and the state machinery that fact seems to provide the party with its chief weapon. One wonders why the supreme head of both state and party allows this public struggle, and why he does not settle it. More significant is its revelation of the burning latent enmity between the two bodies. Apparently they need only to be under separate chiefs for the antagonism to break out into the open. If some day the supreme head which now unites the two bodies becomes weak, we shall see them fall upon each other fiercely.

The present German *Stimmung* finds a vent in countless slogans and jokes which are often very cynical. One of the latest is: "Enjoy the war—the peace will be terrible." It is no wonder that the Nazi command, which never had any sense of humor, is extremely irritated by this epidemic of witticisms. In the middle of January a furious article about the jokers appeared in several Baden newspapers.

> There are jokes [it said] which work like poisoned arrows and are really dangerous. One often sees two people meet, exchange knowing glances, and ask the familiar question: Have you heard the latest joke? Then, after some mysterious whispering—nobody else must hear—they laugh and go home, eager for an opportunity to repeat the story. Of course they know whom they can trust with such witticisms—those fine people who understand how to present all serious matters in a false light. . . . This joking about victory and defeat is the most despicable treason in such a period as the present.

The article concluded with malevolent but somewhat hollow threats:

> From now on we are going to watch more carefully those fellow-citizens of ours who—in the strictest privacy of course—are always ready with the latest demoralizing, corroding, poisonous joke. We shall know how to point those poisoned arrows in the direction they should go—that is, at the hearts of the story-tellers themselves.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I WAS A JEWISH PRISONER OF WAR IN GERMANY"—PRIVATE KRAUS

"... I remember ... when the British prisoners were being driven to the prison camps; they passed on the way two crucified naked bodies; one had been an old Jew with a long beard, the other a young Jewish girl. Two British officers stopped and saluted these monuments of the German new world. For this they were shot. We cannot forget these things. Perhaps the crucified Jews and the two British officers were buried together in one brotherly grave, a symbol of unity between our two great peoples ..."

Read the Amazing Experiences of the Palestinian Jewish Soldiers in German Prison Camps, Told in

THE ANSWER

Semi-monthly Illustrated Magazine

Only in the ANSWER will you find these stories of Jewish sufferings and heroism. Only in this militant magazine will you get the whole truth about the Jewish contributions in the war against Hitler—not only about Jewish military and guerrilla heroism in the African and European theatres of the war but the whole story of the dreadful holocaust that has cost these trapped people millions of lives.

Other Features in This Issue—

1. The dramatic story of the Gillette-Taft-Baldwin-Rogers Resolution—it preceded the President's War Refugee Board.
2. The never-before printed testimony before Congress by FIORELLO H. LAGUARDIA ... DEAN ALFANGE ... WILLIAM B. ZIFF.
3. A great son of a great father ... WILL ROGERS, JR.
4. "THE HORRORS AT KHARKOV" ... Told by one of the greatest Russian authors, Alexai Tolstoy.
5. "MY TWO YEARS IN WARSAW'S GHETTO" ... Told by a man who escaped the Ghetto, Edward Warshawski.
6. "PARTITION" ... a poem by Robert Nathan.
   Plus ... Editorial Comments; Press Reviews, Book Reviews.

Here is an offer without parallel in the literary world. You pay only three dollars, REGULAR PRICE for one year's subscription to the ANSWER. ... Plus complete library on Jewish affairs, FREE. ... The books and pamphlets come to you FREE (except 25 cents for postage and handling) ...
BUT YOU MUST ACT AT ONCE.

A LITERARY GALAXY

In every issue of the ANSWER you will find a veritable feast of articles by leading writers of today. Here are a few who have appeared in its pages within the past few months: Sigrid Undset, Ben Hecht, Emil Ludwig, Dorothy Parker, Max Lerner, Konrad Bercovici, Taylor Caldwell, Prof. Johan J. Smertenko, Mrs. John Gunther, William Ziff and Emil Lengyel.

The ANSWER is no journal of self-pity. The ANSWER talks straight. The technique of the ANSWER is not the plea—its conscience is that of a champion for a people's right.

Keep informed about the progress of the campaign to save the Jewish people of Europe.

— FREE —

THIS UP-TO-DATE LIBRARY OF THE JEWISH PROBLEMS

We offer to the public an opportunity to become acquainted now with the vital aspects of the Jewish situation in the world and the possible solution of the Jewish problems in Europe and Palestine.

We make this offer FREE.

1. **"WE WILL NEVER DIE"**
   (Including the chapter of the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto)—by Ben Hecht.
   The momentous memorial pageant which aroused America
2. **"THE RAPE OF PALESTINE"**
   (Digest, 227 pages)—by William B. Ziff.
3. **"ONLY THE LIVING"**
   —by Babette Deutsch
4. **"FROM EVIAN TO BERMUDA"**
5. **"THE TEST CASE FOR DEMOCRACY"**
   (The American Press and the Jewish Army)
6. **"DELIVER US FROM EVIL"**
7. **"THE AMERICAN PRESS AND THE RESCUE RESOLUTION"**

The Answer Publishing Co., Inc.,
1 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y.:

Please send me one year's subscription to The ANSWER (24 issues). Also send me, without charge (except 25 cents for postage and handling), complete Jewish library listed above, for which I enclose my check for $3.25.

Name.....Address.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Facts About Public Housing

THE SEVEN MYTHS OF HOUSING. By Nathan Straus. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

WHEN the President drafted Nathan Straus for the job of clearing city slums, Straus ran foul of the building-loan and real-estate lobbies. Their shadows loom large in Congressional cloakrooms, and his five years as housing administrator were hard and troubled. A House committee finally refused to appropriate any more housing money for his agency. Straus resigned, but not before nearly a billion dollars' worth of public housing had been built and one of the most inspiring of New Deal programs successfully launched.

In "The Seven Myths of Housing" Straus takes the field again against the foes of public housing. He lists the charges that are most often hurled against the program: namely, there really aren't any slums; people make slums; public housing doesn't clear slums; public housing costs too much anyway and threatens private enterprise; the government would fare better by bailing out the slum owners. He labels each of these "myths" and explodes them one by one.

The role of the "mythoclast" for Straus is not a new one. With earlier pioneers in housing, like Langdon Post, Catherine Bauer, and Edith Elmer Wood, Straus once roamed the country answering arguments against public housing and persuading cities to set up housing authorities. In time local opposition was overcome, and cities obtained the necessary enabling laws, successfully defended them against constitutional attack, tore down slums, gave tax-exemption to the new projects, built and managed them.

But the opposition then concentrated its force on Washington. The building-and-loan lobby united with the home builders and real-estate brokers for a frontal attack on the program. The myths Straus breaks down are again being broadcast, and important Washington circles are accepting them as fact. Straus's book, therefore, is a timely and necessary addition to the fragmentary literature on public housing.

The book is not a philippic against Straus's enemies in Washington, as some expected it to be, though several Congressmen who fought Straus do receive special dishonorable mention. It is, in the main, a statement of facts and figures, put plainly and convincingly. Public housing costs less to build than private housing, says Straus, and he proceeds to prove it with schedule and tally. It costs less to operate than private housing, and he shows how utilities and insurance costs have been cut to one-third of private costs. It rehouses families from the slums, and he demonstrates that about three-quarters of the tenants in the new housing have incomes under $1,000. He shows how the tenants in the new projects have become sounder citizens, pay rent promptly, rebel against regimentation, take pride in their homes, and even do the painting and repairing themselves. Straus strikes out against the substitute formula now being offered by the real-estate interests under which monthly rent checks would be given to slum dwellers to enable them to rent better quarters. He properly says this would only be a subsidy to the slum-owner, that the slums would be perpetuated, the tenant be made a recipient of public charity.

An interesting chart compares costs and operational expenses of a private with a publicly operated dwelling. With a federal subsidy of only $104 annually, public housing can be rented to a family earning $800 a year, and for a third of the rent charged by private enterprise. A tabulation shows why this is so—the vacancy and collection losses are lower in public housing, the life of the building is longer, the profit is eliminated, the interest rate reduced.

In the post-war years Straus wants 900,000 homes built every year for five years, a third of which are to be subsidized. He wants cities to buy land for future use as was done so successfully in Sweden. All substandard housing is to be outlawed beginning six years hence, though with Straus's program calling for only 300,000 subsidized houses annually it is hard to see where the greater part of ten million families occupying substandard houses will live when their present houses are declared illegal. Straus also suggests that all federal agencies dealing with public works, work relief, and public and private housing be merged with the National Resources Planning Board into a new super-agency with Cabinet representation. It is curious that one of the signal reasons for the success of Straus's administration was that public housing was finally unshackled from public works, that on the two occasions when public works and housing were in one agency, housing bogged down. The decentralized operation seems always to be unfavorably affected by the centripetal tendencies of more centralized operations. The unique characteristic of the public-housing program is that the federal government is enjoined from itself buying land or erecting buildings; the program must be carried out through local communities, which themselves do the selecting of sites, the planning, construction, and managing of projects.

With few exceptions Straus's proposals for the post-war period are simple and attainable. He has written a useful handbook for those in the field as well as for the inquiring layman. For Congressmen who are now being deluged with housing misinformation by the real-estate pressure groups the book is mandatory.

CHARLES ABRAMS

An Oxford Book of Symbolism

THE HERITAGE OF SYMBOLISM. By C. M. Bowra. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

THIS book, by Pindar's most recent editor, consists of seven essays. Two of them contain a general discussion of symbolism and post-symbolism; the other five are devoted to Valéry, Rilke, Stefan George, Alexander Blok, and W. B. Yeats. George and Rilke were omitted from Edmund Wilson's account of the subject, and Mr. Bowra's essays are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probably the best introductions available. His book is written in an accomplished, urbane, slightly donnish manner. It is obviously the work of a connoisseur and has the merit of work done for pleasure rather than as a contribution to research. Mr. Bowra's remarks always carry some weight, for one feels behind them considerable experience, taste, and epicurean enjoyment. He savors poetry, tests it on his palate as if it were a rare wine. This is very heartening at a time when most professors of Greek are philistines and when criticism is too nearly the monopoly of professionals. Unhappily the attitude of the connoisseur also has its limitations.

Symbolism remains the greatest topic in the whole range of modern poetry, for all the new non-symbolist beginnings have proved to be false starts, like the social poetry of the thirties or such spectacular gestures of self-immolation as surrealism. No group of modern writers, from the naturalists to the expressionists, has managed, as the symbolists have done, not only to maintain but to enhance their reputation. Moreover, symbolism remains the greatest *problem* of modern literature. Not merely do critics differ on the interpretation of the phenomenon, as they differ on the interpretation of romanticism or any other system; they differ also on the question: What is the phenomenon being interpreted? Consequently they differ as to who the symbolists are. The net may be cast wide to include Gérard de Nerval, Jules Laforgue, Alexander Blok, or Paul Valéry. Or everyone can be excluded except the immediate circle of Mallarmé. Everything depends on interpretation and definition.

What does Mr. Bowra propose? His introductory discussion deals with Baudelaire, Verlaine, and Mallarmé; the main part of his book deals with Valéry, Rilke, George, Blok, and Yeats. There is something wrong here. If the definition be a narrow one, the later work of the latter five poets—especially that of Valéry and Blok—cannot be termed symbolist. If it be broad, the omission in the general discussions of Rimbaud, Corbière, and Laforgue cannot be justified; nor, in the English tradition, should Yeats receive attention to the total exclusion of T. S. Eliot, who introduced symbolism to a generation. Everything depends on interpretation and definition: for lack of any definitions whatsoever Mr. Bowra's interpretation is throughout blurred and unsatisfactory.

Yet one can piece it together from one part of the book and another. Romantic poetry, says Mr. Bowra, prefers creating to stating, producing an effect to giving information. Symbolism is the extreme of romanticism. Distaste for statement and information is erected into the dogma of pure poetry, poetry as music, which oddly but significantly enough is equated with poetry as silence. Fleeing the external world or believing that it was real only as mirrored in the individual consciousness, the symbolist narrows down his interest not only to states of mind but to the only states of mind which can really be known—his own. Hence a religion of the self, the symbolist substitute for a social philosophy, and a religion of the sensations, the symbolist substitute for a philosophy of aesthetics. From these two sources flow the secondary symptoms of symbolism—its parade of anti-rational, so-called mystical attitudes, its aloofness, its respect for music, its theory of sensory correspondences. Beauty became a religion, poetry a panacea, the poet a shaman. "I think the world will be saved," said Mallarmé, "by a better literature." The post-symbolists departed gradually from the two most dubious doctrines of Mallarmé—the severance of poetry from common life and the belief that musical abstractness is the end of poetry—and we find Blok, George, and Yeats turning sometimes to political subjects, Valéry to a non-transcendental theory of art. The great achievements of the symbolists and post-symbolists, Mr. Bowra concludes, have been in "shedding light on themes which might seem stale or exhausted" and in exploring the unconscious with symbol and suggestion far beyond the reach of the scientific intellect. They represent the highest development of the peculiarly psychological awareness of the past epoch; their work is the most refined product of the self-regarding impulse.

All this is tenable enough, though there is nothing here that was not in "Axel's Castle"; and there was much in "Axel's Castle" that is not to be found here. Furthermore, Mr. Bowra seems only confused by the central paradox of symbolism, the paradox that symbolism is both traditional and revolutionary, decadent and seminal, negative and positive. In his introduction he writes of the symbolists: ". . . because they neglected their own times, their claim on posterity too is less; for they often lack that vitality which comes from contact with life and survives the centuries because of its lasting human qualities." But in his summing up we read: "[They] all found an intense excitement in living. . . . Their desire for transcendental orders of experience is no denial of the here and now." The contradiction between these statements arises from Mr. Bowra's failure to push his criticism beyond the point of liking the symbolists and feeling that they are nevertheless decadent. When, therefore, I recom-

politics

A NEW MONTHLY

Edited by DWIGHT MACDONALD

In the first (February) issue:

TOWARD A PERMANENT WAR ECONOMY?
by Walter J. Oakes
A realistic forecast of the next two decades of U. S. economic development

A THEORY OF POPULAR CULTURE
by Dwight Macdonald
The effect on American art and society of movies, radio, commercialized art and letters

USA, ex rel. WINFRED LYNN v. COL. J. W. DOWNER
The original brief in the only court test of the Army's Jimcrow treatment of colored soldiers

STALIN'S POLICY IN EUROPE by Louis Clair

THE MONTREAL POLICE STRIKE by William Mead

INTRODUCTORY OFFER: 5 Issues for $1

POLITICS, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed is $.....

Please send me { 5 monthly issues for $1 / One year (12 issues) for $2.50

(Single copy, 25¢; add to subscriptions, 30¢ for Canada, 50¢ for other foreign countries.)

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... *UNIT*..... *STATE*.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mend some of Mr. Bowra's essays as "introductions," I use the word advisedly. The corollary is that no one already acquainted with the material would need Mr. Bowra's help.

Another remark of Mr. Bowra's illustrates my theme: "The post-symbolists have had the confidence to assert human values in the face of meaningless circumstance and to rise to a tragic grandeur." Now if there is one quality which the symbolists and their followers lack, and even make a point of lacking, it is tragic grandeur: consider their treatment of the Hamlet theme from Mallarmé's "Igitur" to Eliot's "Prufrock." But even more revealing is the phrase "meaningless circumstance," for if Mr. Bowra intended to take the view that modern history is meaningless—an idea congenial to the symbolists—he certainly ought to have mentioned the fact before the last page of his book, since it would dictate an interpretation of the whole subject which is at no point elaborated or explained.

Since Théophile Gautier wrote his essay on Baudelaire every notable critic has given his attention to the phenomenon which we now call symbolism. And, indeed, every critic in the field—Bourget, Symons, Quennell, Wilson—has followed Gautier's lead in interpreting Baudelaire as a decadent in a historical if not in a pejorative sense. Wilson, indeed, carries the analysis of decadence as far as it can usefully be taken; one waits now only for more critical analyses of symbolist poems as poems; one waits for a more definitive and objective account of the whole subject. Mr. Bowra only adds to the number of pleasant and in every sense "polite" essays.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

The Power to Make Treaties

THE AMERICAN SENATE AND WORLD PEACE. By Kenneth Colegrove. The Vanguard Press. $2.

FORTY-THREE years ago *The Nation* pointed out that our Constitution makes it so difficult to ratify a treaty that we seemed "to have stripped ourselves of a leading attribute of sovereignty—the power to make treaties." The rejection of the League of Nations by a minority of the Senate in 1920 dramatized the helplessness of a majority in America. In 1930 Dr. Denna F. Fleming reviewed the history of the requirements that "two-thirds of the Senators present" assent to treaties negotiated by the President and recommended its removal in a volume called "The Treaty Veto of the American Senate." Now Professor Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University has brought the sorry story up to date and hammered home the same conclusion.

Professor Colegrove names twenty-six Republicans, eighteen Democrats, and one Progressive (La Follette) who, judged by their records and recent remarks, would be likely to oppose a treaty embodying the ideas of the Ball-Hatch resolution if it were submitted to the Senate by a Democratic President. If a bare quorum were present, seventeen "nays" would suffice to defeat such a treaty. The men casting those votes might represent only one-twelfth of the American people.

Such isolationists as Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Robert A. Taft, Hiram Johnson, and Gerald P. Nye, says Pro-

Midwinter Book Issue

Samuel Johnson's "Life of the Poets"

An Essay by Joseph Wood Krutch

Reviews:

Louis Kronenberger: Elmer Edgar Stoll's "From Shakespeare to Joyce"

G. A. Borgese: Recent books by Monsignor Sheen and Archbishop Spellman

Edgar Snow: Leland Stowe's "They Shall Not Sleep"

Douglas Haskell: Talbot Hamlin's "Greek Revival Architecture in America"

F. W. Dupee: Jean Malaquais's "War Diary"

Marcus Duffield: Charles J. Rolo's "Wingate's Raiders"

Keith Hutchison: Current books on Germany after the war

Next Week in THE *Nation*

"What are the facts about the Russo-Polish frontier dispute?"

"Is Stalin dreaming of a Russian super-empire?"

The Russian riddle is of our own making—this book helps to undo it.

WHAT RUSSIA WANTS

By Joachim Joesten

Assistant Editor of Newsweek

"HIS book has a great timeliness. It serves as an eye opener for those who believe that every Russian move has a mysterious meaning."—Ernest von Hartz, *Chicago Sun.* $2.50

DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

DUELL, SLOAN & PEARCE, Inc.
270 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me ..... copies of WHAT RUSSIA WANTS at $2.50 a copy.

☐ Enclosed ☐ Send C. O. D.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... State.....

N 2-12

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fessor Colegrove, have never abandoned hope of preventing us from cooperating with other nations. They foresee an "inevitable reaction" against international collaboration when the war ends. And the Constitution, by intrusting treaties to only one house of Congress, and permitting a minority of that house to prevent action, gives those irreconcilables a most formidable weapon.

Hence, both prudence and a decent respect for democracy require that we either use means other than treaties to come to agreements with other nations or amend the Constitution. Executive agreements can be substituted for treaties. They may be authorized or approved by a majority vote in both houses of Congress. More than 1,200 such agreements but only about 900 treaties have been made by our government. The Department of State and a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations agreed last summer to base United Nations relief and rehabilitation arrangements on such an agreement rather than a treaty.

But Professor Colegrove would rather see the Constitution amended. He considers executive agreements evasive, even though they have been held to be constitutional; he emphasizes the greater "symbolic significance" of treaties; and he contends that treaties are needed to place the final peace settlement "on a sound and permanent basis."

The best answer to this argument is that it is hard to amend the Constitution. The customary method requires a two-thirds' vote of both houses of Congress. The Senate isolationists can prevent that. Professor Colegrove proposes, therefore, that the legislatures of two-thirds of the states request Congress to call a national convention. Congress then would have to act. And an amendment proposed by such a convention would be effective if approved by the legislatures or conventions in three-fourths of the states. This is a cumbersome method that never has been used. It is interesting to note, however, that a young Republican writer, Alexander Hehmeyer, proposed recently in "Time for Change" that we have a constitutional convention sitting throughout this war to reexamine the whole Constitution.

What provisions should be made for approving treaties is another question. Professor Colegrove scorns Senator Guy M. Gillette's proposal that a mere majority of the Senate be empowered to approve treaties. He would require the Senate to share authority with the House, where there is less danger of distortion in reflections of the people's will. He does not discuss Representative Michael A. Feighan's proposal that there should be a direct vote by the people, in a special election, on a treaty favored by the President but rejected in the Senate.

However dreamy it may seem to talk of amending the Constitution now, Professor Colegrove's book is a worthwhile contribution to American thinking because it shows plainly how the Constitution can be used by democracy's foes as well as its friends. There has been too much blind worship and too little critical thought about our Constitution. The people's failure to realize its weaknesses as well as its grandeur has enabled obstructionists to hide behind it.

The Republicans' Mackinac charter, which emphasized adherence to "constitutionalism" in determining policies and making international commitments, was approved even by Clare Hoffman. Professor Colegrove ascribes that joker in the Mackinac declaration to Senator Vandenberg and charges that the Michigan Senator was really saying: "The President must be compelled to frame the peace settlement in the form of a treaty, which must be submitted to the Senate, where a one-third minority of isolationists will be able to destroy it as effectively as Senator Lodge and his collaborators annihilated American participation in the peace system at the end of the First World War."

Some critics have called this book repetitious. It is. But a man shouting a warning against minority rule and international anarchy should not be expected to content himself with a single yip. My complaint is that the author has not shouted loudly enough.

VOLTA TORREY

Fiction in Review

JOHN HERSEY is a *Life-Time* correspondent with our invasion forces; his novel, "A Bell for Adano" (Knopf, $2.50), is our first fiction of the American government of Italy—occupational history written while it was still little more than a gleam in Amgot's eye. But the very speed of composition of Mr. Hersey's book gives it what interest it has, because, writing quickly, Mr. Hersey wrote out of a deep reservoir of folk-idealisms and popular assumptions. This is not to say that "A Bell for Adano" is an unconscious book any more than most movies, also created out of popular assumptions are unconscious. It is as impossible for me to believe that a person who has had the education and experience necessary to get a correspondent's job on *Life* naturally thinks of Americans or Italians in the simple way that Mr. Hersey appears to in his novel as it is for me to believe that the Hollywood scenario writer who wrote "Joe Smith, American" naturally thinks of Americans as Joe Smiths. The contrivance of simplicity is one of the things that may set my spine tingling in a movie, especially in a lesson-in-democracy movie, but it also leaves a bad taste in my mouth, because I feel that I have been done, played upon, taken in. I feel the more taken in, indeed, in the degree that the popular assumptions which are paraded have a basis in truth.

And there seems to me to be a great deal of truth in Mr. Hersey's picture of an American. In fact, "A Bell for Adano" might accurately be described as the Platonic ideal of Americanism, of which the American reality is an active approximation. Its hero, Major Joppolo, is a kind of compendium of quickly recognizable national characteristics. Joppolo is the American occupation officer of the little town of Adano. He thinks for himself, works fourteen hours a day, is realistic about taking help where he can find it, is gentle from instinct and ruthless on principle, respects authority where it earns respect and where it is unworthy countermands it at whatever risk, knows how to play with the church, has sex but knows how to keep it down, loathes protocol and red tape, and first and always is a man of heart who understands that a town full of Italian peasants has more need for a bell than for American sanitation; when his M. P.'s get into a drunken orgy and smash up the house in which they are billeted, instead of sending them to the guardhouse he invokes the memory of their mothers. So convincing is Mr. Hersey's portrait of the American as an administrator that we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even comes to think it a national characteristic that Joppolo should be of Italian parentage and came from the Bronx.

Obviously, folk idealism of this kind is its own good clean fun. What offends me is its being put forward as all of his truth by someone in a position to boast a more complicated view of things. When Mr. Hersey says in his Foreword that only men can guarantee the future, men like Major Joppolo, I tend to agree with him; for all its limitations the Joppolo incarnation of American democracy at work isn't a bad star to be shooting at in these practical days. But when, also in his Foreword, he uses Hollywood-naive prose like this, "Major Victor Joppolo, U. S. A., was a good man. You will see that. It is the whole reason why I want you to know his story. . . . Major Joppolo was Amgot officer of Adano, and he was good," I know that Mr. Hersey's ideas, like his prose, have undergone a process of conscious, falsifying, and purposeful simplification.

There is very little writing talent in "A Bell for Adano," just by the way. Two other novels I read this week—Charles Jackson's "The Lost Week-End" (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50) and A. Fleming MacLiesh's "Cone of Silence" (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.75)—show very much more talent, though they are less interesting. Unfortunately, Mr. Jackson's quick, sinewy, precise prose is at the service of a sensational but essentially unfruitful novelistic subject. "The Last Week-End," which is the stream-of-consciousness record of five days in the life of a dipsomaniac, inevitably suffers from the lack of scope of its central character, whose view of the world is bounded by the drinker's narcissism and self-pity. In Mr. MacLiesh's book, too, self-pity is the dominant note, in this case the self-pity induced by the artist's exacerbated sense of his special susceptibility to life. "Cone of Silence" is one of those novels in which depth of character is assumed to increase in direct proportion as the hero discloses his literacy and artistic sensibility.

DIANA TRILLING

ART

THE Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors is an organization that includes a good many of the most advanced and important artists in this country. Early in January the federation released to the press a letter attacking the Museum of Modern Art and pointing out the "increasingly reactionary policies of that institution toward the work of American artists." The letter specifically criticized the museum for its exhibition of "works rightly considered academic and outmoded even in the Victorian era (for example, "Romanticism in America" and "American Realists and Magic Realists"); for its displays of material "interesting only on scientific and ethnographical grounds"; for adopting "one set of standards for . . . European art . . . and a thoroughly different one for its American selections"; for its policy of sacrificing "seriousness of purpose for publicity" (the "Contemporary Portraits" exhibition); and for its interest in "such ephemeral fads as the output of certain refugee-surrealists and types of American scene-illustration, [which] have been exaggerated out of all proportion to their qualities as art." The letter went on to call for an exhibition of the museum's entire permanent collection, "which presumably represents the considered judgment of the staff," and to ask that "the museum indicate more openly the individuals or groups who are most directly responsible for its recent policies."

On January 20 the Museum of Modern Art's Department of Painting and Sculpture sent a letter, with a self-addressed postcard inclosed, to a selected group of the seventy members of the federation, asking that the recipient indicate on the card whether or not he or she had seen the federation's letter before it was mailed. The card did not seem to require a signature, and the assurance was given that "this information . . . will be used only for a report to a museum committee."

That the museum's first reaction to the federation's letter was to make it an issue of personalities is saddening—aside from the questionable taste of its procedure, which seems to derive from the Stalinist telephone-pressure campaigns of a few years ago. It is possible, but quite irrelevant, that some members of the federation call the museum's grapes sour mainly because the museum has not shown their work. But charges similar to those in the letter have been leveled against that institution by persons whose motives cannot be similarly impugned. Nor would the charges be invalidated could it be proved that a majority of the federation's membership had not seen the letter before it was released. The museum should have felt it imperative to answer the criticism on the same plane as that on which it was formulated. If

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE NATION
55 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Nation subscribers should give us at least two weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please enter my subscription to your magazine.
☐ 1 Year $5 ☐ 2 Years $8 ☐ 3 Years $11
☐ Remittance is inclosed ☐ Bill me

Introductory Offer to New Subscribers ONLY:
☐ **10 Weeks $1**
Cash with order

Canada $1 a year extra
Foreign $1 a year extra
Pan American Union requires no extra postage

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
..... 2-12-44

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURES

20th CENTURY-FOX PRESENTS
Franz Werfel's
THE SONG OF BERNADETTE
with
JENNIFER JONES · WILLIAM EYTHE · CHARLES BICKFORD
VINCENT PRICE · LEE J. COBB · GLADYS COOPER
Directed by HENRY KING
Produced by WILLIAM PERLBERG · WILLIAM GOETZ in Charge of Production
Screen Play by George Seaton · From the Novel by Franz Werfel

CONTINUOUS PERFORMANCES **Rivoli** Broadway at 49th St.

"A tremendously provocative film . . . absorbing in its revelations of character and its brilliantly pictorialized details."
—Bosley Crowther, N. Y. Times.

ALFRED HITCHCOCK'S PRODUCTION

LIFEBOAT

By JOHN STEINBECK

STARRING TALLULAH BANKHEAD with WILLIAM BENDIX

A Twentieth Century-Fox Picture

Continuous Performances **ASTOR** B'WAY AT 45th Street

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD *presents*
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
WINTER GARDEN, B'way & 50th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

"A definite hit . . . gay, glib, daffy — enormously funny."
—*Morehouse, Sun.*
RUTH GORDON
IN THE NEW COMEDY HIT
OVER TWENTY-ONE
MUSIC BOX, 45th St. W. of B'way. CI 6-4636—Evgs. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

Limited Engagement 2 WEEKS ONLY **NOW** THRU **FEBRUARY 19**
CHERYL CRAWFORD presents
PORGY and BESS GERSHWIN'S NATION-WIDE MUSICAL HIT
by George Gershwin and DuBose Heyward
N. Y. CITY CENTER, Mayor LaGuardia, Pres., 131 W. 55th St. "Best Bargain in Town." Eves., 85c, $1.10, $1.65, $2.20; Mats. Wed., Sat., Sun., 55c, $1.10, $1.65

the federation is wrong, a point-by-point rebuttal would reinforce the museum's position and, even more important, promote a discussion that might help clarify very important issues at stake in contemporary American art. Alas, the federation is not wrong, even though it failed to make some necessary distinctions.

The function of a museum of *modern* art is to discriminate and support those tendencies in art which are specifically and validly modern, regardless of general appeal or vogue. Both the golden and the silver ages of modern art are over, seemingly—at least in Paris—and those forced in the past by the vitality of modern art to censor their dissatisfaction with it have begun to come out into the open again. The presumably enlightened rich, who support art in this country as in every other, have relapsed into self-indulgence; their aesthetically ascetic period is past. With no young Picassos in sight, they have found the courage to ask once more for the kind of art they really like: "Give us the romantic, the realistic, the descriptive, the immediately erotic, and the chic. It fits us better, mirrors us better, and moves us quicker. Since we pay for art, we have a right to the kind we want." The recent policies of the museum reflect not so much the increasing strength of this element as an enormous gain in its self-confidence—it has always been strong, and its contributions have kept the museum alive from the beginning. If its influence is unchecked, it will finish by making the Museum of Modern Art an educational annex to the Stork Club.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MOTION PICTURE

20th CENTURY-FOX PRESENTS
the picture that has everything for everybody . . .

THE SULLIVANS

with
ANNE BAXTER THOMAS MITCHELL
SELENA ROYLE

The thrilling true-life drama of America's stalwart family of naval heroes.

Plus a town-topping stage show
MARTHA RAYE
ROSARIO & ANTONIO
THE BEN YOST SINGERS

Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave at 50th Street

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRAMA

MICHAEL TODD has spared no expense in "Mexican Hayride" (Winter Garden). The girls are gorgeous, the costumes elaborate and beautiful, the settings gay. The music is passable Porter. The book by Herbert and Dorothy Fields is none too good, but it does well enough as a vehicle for Bobby Clark, who of course jumps off and lopes ahead of it and around it and over it when it threatens to develop engine trouble—and even when it doesn't. I need hardly add that he is the main attraction of the show.

He is set off, as if he needed to be, by such assorted talents as June Havoc, his bull-fighting sister-in-law; George Givot, his tall, dark, and handsome dupe; and Luba Malina, his sultry stooge. Wilbur Evans looks and acts refreshingly unlike a matinee idol, and he sings nicely, though like most musical-comedy stars, especially male, he feels it necessary always to take the first position in singing the minute he hears his cue. Can't they ever be casual—or appear to be?

June Havoc, who does the "specialty" songs very well, is as supple—and as sexless, strange to say—as a branch of new willow. She's a good little trouper and obviously enjoys her work.

The dancing, when it isn't acrobatic, is nothing to speak of—and I doubt that Paul Haakon ever saw a toreador perform.

"Mexican Hayride" is a bit stiff and slow at the start; the second act is much better than the first largely because it contains two of Bobby Clark's wilder impersonations. In one of them he kids the flute out of countenance and tops off by swallowing half of it. In the other he is an Indian woman with long black braids and a papoose duly equipped with permanent spectacles and a cigar. His routine of the soundless howling coyote is constant. I wish I knew why it's so funny.

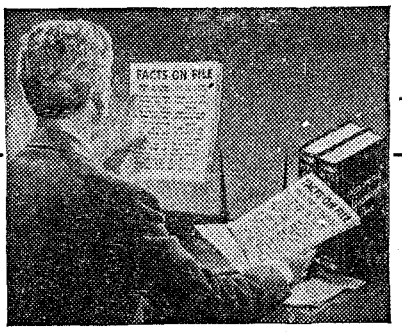
MARGARET MARSHALL

FILMS

I HAVE never read "Jane Eyre," but I think there may be some use in comparing the screen version with a not very good version which Luther Adler and Sylvia Sidney brought to the Boston stage several months ago. Judging by the play, the novel must have a good deal of inter-class, feminist, ethical, and erotic tension, and Rochester, besides having a good deal of disintegrating romantic splendor, must in some degree symbolize the predicament and decay of the best of England in his time. Judging by the film, the novel must also have the kind of darkly transparent, hypnotic tone and pace which seem never, any more, to be achieved or even attempted in writing. There is almost no symbolic resonance and almost no really taking or revealing tension in the film; there is very little, in fact, after the first twenty minutes or so that makes it at all seriously worth seeing. Those first twenty minutes, however, which are devoted to Jane's schooling and her first meeting with Rochester, are a lush, beetlebrowed, unusually compelling piece of highly romantic screen rhetoric. I suspect Orson Welles had a hand in this stretch—for good and for bad; it has a good deal of his black-chenille-and-rhinestones manner. After that, all you get is a careful and tame production, a sadly vanilla-flavored Joan Fontaine, and Welles treating himself to road-operatic sculpturings of body, cloak, and diction, his eyes glinting in the Rembrandt gloom, at every chance, like side-orders of jelly. It is possible to enjoy his performance as dead-pan period parody; I imagine he did. I might have more if I hadn't wanted, instead, to see a good performance.

It is also possible, I gather from many people, to be as excited and scared by "The Lodger," the adaptation of Mrs. Belloc Lowndes's story about Jack the Ripper, as the adaptors intended. I wish I could have been, for it is years since a horror picture has given me my money's worth, and I feel that today only Val Lewton, who makes such B pictures as "The Seventh Victim," has occasional promising ideas how to go about it. For me the main troubles with "The Lodger" were that everyone was trying for gentlemanly, intelligent horror, sustained only by tricks of secondary suspense (you know from the start who the Ripper is), in too gentlemanly and too little incisively intelligent a manner. As a result the beautiful interiors, the sometimes beautiful streets, and the too beautiful lighting and photography drew too much attention to their own sumptuous but very passive vitality, and the good performances of Laird Cregar, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Sara Allgood, and Merle Oberon also remained a purely visual pleasure. Doris Lloyd, however, does project a moment of solid, old-fashioned fright.

JAMES AGEE



FIRST AID
TO
WRITERS • SPEAKERS
STUDENTS • LAWYERS
TEACHERS • LIBRARIANS
EXECUTIVES • ETC.

To keep you well-informed and up-to-date, you need

FACTS-ON-FILE
World News Digest

Would you like to condense 100 hours of weekly reading into 30 minutes, without missing a single important fact or event? Do you wish to have every major subject and news event at your finger-tips—condensed, sorted, filed and indexed for ready reference? *FACTS ON FILE* does it for you by means of a *weekly 8-page digest* that covers world news in capsule form, stripped of verbiage, opinion, and comment.

FACTS ON FILE Saves you Hours of Reading Time, Improves Your Fund of Knowledge, Gives you all the News of the World including World War II, National and Foreign Affairs, Latin America, Finance, Business, Arts, Science, Education, Religion, Sports, Obituaries, etc., in handy reference form. Authoritative, concise, easy to read.

With *FACTS ON FILE* you can discard your clippings, notes, and stacks of magazines. Acclaimed a "MIRACLE OF CONDENSATION" *FACTS ON FILE* is endorsed by prominent leaders in all walks of life as invaluable for quickly locating facts, checking dates, figures, speeches, and names. Busy executives, speakers, governments, schools, libraries, business firms subscribe to *FACTS ON FILE as the ONLY publication of its kind in America.* Each weekly Digest comes to you with a Cumulative Index that keeps *FACTS ON FILE* up-to-date automatically.

SPECIAL OFFER

TRY FACTS ON FILE for 5 weeks for only $1.00 (value $2.50). Regular subscribers at $25.00 a year receive a handsome loose-leaf DE LUXE BUCKRAM BINDER FREE OF CHARGE (Size 9½ x 11½ inches). Holds a year's supply of Digests and Indexes.

Send the coupon below with only $1.00 for special 5-weeks' trial, which includes latest Quarterly Index FREE OF CHARGE.

FACTS-ON-FILE
"THE NEWS OF THE WORLD IN CAPSULE FORM"
516 5TH Ave., New York 18, N. Y.

☐ I enclose $1.00 for Special 5-weeks' trial service to FACTS ON FILE, which entitles me to latest 22-page Quarterly Index FREE.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MUSIC

THE Metropolitan's first "Marriage of Figaro" was one of the most brilliant performances the company has given in recent years. Having considered whether I should listen to the broadcast in the quiet of my home or should accept the poor acoustic conditions and the audience disturbances of the actual performance to which a friend had invited me, I finally decided on the actual performance. My seat, in the second row of the Orchestra Circle on the extreme right very near the orchestra pit and the stage, was one from which I could barely hear many of the marvelous things that happen in the orchestra (whereas the absent-minded rolling and unrolling of a program directly behind my left ear was only too distinct); but I could hear and see the singers very well; and it was their work that made the performance extraordinary.

It is a long time since I have heard an opera sung so well throughout—even minor roles like Marcellina and Barberina by Irra Petina and Marita Farell; major ones by older singers like Pinza, Brownlee, Novotna, and Baccaloni, who were in particularly good voice; and above all Susanna and the Countess by Bidu Sayao and Eleanor Steber. Sayao sang as beautifully this time as she had done many times before; but Steber's previous achievements had left me unprepared for singing that was the sensation of the afternoon. That is, she had used a fresh, agreeable voice with good musical taste; but she had begun every performance with a strong tremolo which sometimes had cleared up and sometimes had not. This time, however, the very first tones of *Porgi amor* were clear and lovely; and her technical security continued to produce such tones, which her musical taste moulded into long, continuous, and exquisite phrases. Moreover, arriving at the *reprise* of *Dove sono* she paused, lay back in her chair, and sang it *pianissimo* as though recalling a dream of past happiness—a stroke of dramatic imagination which brings me to the fact that her Countess was also the outstanding impersonation of the afternoon and one of the finest I have ever seen on the operatic stage. Nobody I have seen in the role has conveyed as Steber did the Countess's youth and beauty, her spirit, her wounded pride, her humiliation at having to call on her servants for help and involve herself with them in stratagems against her wayward husband.

The cavorting about of the other characters is easier to do, but it takes actors as good as Pinza, Baccaloni, Sayao, Novotna, and the others to do it as well as they did. At moments in this performance, however, they did too much; and one piece of new business—Sayao's extravagant posturings in the Countess's cloak and hat, in the finale—Dr. Graf should eliminate. On the other hand there is one point—the *Venite, inginocchiatevi* scene—at which they do too little; and here Dr. Graf should make the sense of the words clear to the audience by having Susanna, who has measured herself against Cherubino, try one of her dresses on him.

The performance was excellently conducted by Bruno Walter.

Martial Singher, whose recital I attended the evening before, has a fine baritone voice which he uses with breath-taking ease and mastery in the service of a beautifully finished musical style and a sharp dramatic sense. These made his singing of the French music on his program—like Mephistopheles's Serenade from Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust," or the three humorous songs of Chabrier about turkeys, pigs, and ducks—delightful. But one sensed a limitation of emotion and personality which caused his singing of one of Mussorgsky's "Songs and Dances of Death" to lack force and impact; and in the two songs of Schubert and Brahms he achieved a Frenchman's German emotion and style.

Which brings me to Lotte Lehmann's series of three recitals devoted to the songs of Schubert, Brahms, and Schumann. I have commented, in recent years, on the increasing refinement and subtilization of her style in *Lieder*-singing that has accompanied her increasing care, restraint, and skill in the use of an aging but still extraordinarily beautiful voice; at this year's recitals I had the impression that the process had continued, making her art of singing these songs more wonderful than ever. It is in fact unique; and what makes it so is the deep and rich poetic insight and emotion and the power of dramatic characterization and projection that used to tear the phrase apart but now operate through the subtly inflected, phraselogically continuous line of beautiful vocal sound, to produce such great and overwhelming performances as her "Wirtshaus" and "Doppelgänger" of Schubert, or the enchanting comedy of her "Kartenlegerin" of Schumann.

B. H. HAGGIN

Don't Miss

The February Issue of

CONTEMPORARY

Jewish Record

- **WALDO FRANK'S** "PREFACE TO A PROGRAM" —a fundamental statement of the Jewish problem, with which you may not agree, but which every American, not alone the Jews, must know about.
- **AMERICA'S YOUNGER WRITERS SPEAK OUT** "UNDER FORTY": *A Symposium* on American Literature and the Younger Generation of American Jews—the attitude of American writers of Jewish descent toward Jewish problems. *Participants:* David Daiches, Howard Fast, Ben Field, Clement Greenberg, Albert Halper, Alfred Kazin, Louis Kronenberger, Isaac Rosenfeld, Muriel Rukeyser, Delmore Schwartz, Lionel Trilling.
- **HAROLD J. LASKI** "ON A JEWISH SOLDIER'S LETTER." Response to a stirring letter from a soldier stationed at Suez and a lively criticism of British policies in Palestine.

The CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD (published bimonthly by The American Jewish Committee) offers Fact — Opinion — Interpretation — through *Articles* by outstanding writers, *Chronicle of Events, Magazine Digest, Book Reviews, The Cedars of Lebanon* series of classic essays.

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY N2(24

CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD
386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

For the enclosed $2 enter my subscription for one year (six issues).

Name.....

Address.....

.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Cooperation in the Kitchen

Dear Sirs: Edith M. Stern's own answer to her sixty-four-dollar question in her article, Brains in the Kitchen, disconcertingly poses a series of other questions. Can domestic work be "dignified and professionalized"? And is it worth the bother? Are *homes,* other people's homes, pleasanter places in which to work than factories? Is it efficient, and socially healthful, for tens of thousands of women to make careers of looking after the physical comfort of small units of two, or three, or four individuals? Wouldn't anyone rather apply her skill and intelligence to a wider service?

If I were a skilled dietitian, I'd want to use my knowledge for a large group. If I enjoyed working with children, the care of just one or two children would be merely a stop-gap—if the children weren't mine. And if I were especially good at, say, washing dishes, I might get sick and tired of looking at the same set of Delfft or Wedgwood.

The fact of the matter is that housework would long ago have become an intolerable bore and nuisance, and perhaps would have been done away with altogether, if we were not working for the comfort of people we love and for our own comfort. Have we a right to expect anyone else to find fulfilment and a life work in personal service to us, no matter how valuable we are to the outside world and to our children, no matter how adorable they are?

That this is too much to expect is proved by the long and dolorous "Help Wanted" columns appealing for houseworkers. Money inducements appear secondary; glowing descriptions of "interesting couple," "lovable baby," "charming and considerate home" are temptingly displayed in fat paragraphs. But the really smart girls, the ones we are after, don't want to bother with us and our husbands.

What then? "Let no woman ever go beyond elementary school"? Of course that wasn't intended as an answer; it was simply a cry of bitterness and anguish from the depths of a harried soul.

May not a beginning of a solution lie in the recognition that the problem is not an individual one but rather a widespread social phenomenon deserving of systematic and objective study? We can't change ourselves—we've gone outside the house and won't return if we can help it—not for full-time cooking and dusting, anyway. The women presumably better suited for such work choose not to do it—or at least, not to do it passably well or for any length of time in one place. The only solution, therefore, lies in some modification of the household organization.

One that I should like to see tried would be the organization of a home-service unit in an apartment house catering to working-mother families. The unit might be headed by a trained executive, a dietician and manager, who would work with the organized mothers. She would employ cooks and cooks' helpers, nursemaids, and others required for her staff, charging each family unit a fixed fee for routine services. Meals could be planned a week ahead, by each mother, on the basis of menus prepared and submitted by the manager. Meals could be sent to each apartment in special containers, either in complete form or subject to such additions as the mother might care to make from her own kitchen. Special table service could be secured by additional fees. And arrangements could be made for someone to come and do the dishes! Whenever the working mother felt like getting a meal herself, she would simply notify the main kitchen to that effect.

When one contemplates the savings incident to mass marketing, skilled planning, and large-scale preparation, coupled with more efficient use of labor, it becomes evident that such a service should cost far less than the average expenditures in individual homes for food and service. Here would be a wide and diversified field for highly professionalized houseworkers; qualified home-economics managers could provide the type of training required, and the permanent staff of such a unit would be assured good living conditions, good pay, ample job protection, and standardized hours.

The initiative for such an experiment might come from some ingenious house-owner, from a group of professional women organized especially for this purpose, or from an enterprising home economist. It might open the way to other efforts to meet this new and growing problem in a socially effective manner.

JESSE SHOHAN

Rhinebeck, N. Y., January 21

The National Service Act

Dear Sirs: I am surprised at your editorial support of the proposed national-service act in the face of Mr. Stone's acute analysis of it. I oppose the passage of any national-service act at this time for practical reasons and on principle.

From the practical point of view the proposed national-service act is an uncandid attempt to produce anti-strike legislation that works. If it is unaccompanied by acts equally stringent controlling management, salaries, and profits—acts which the present Congress obviously will not pass—the national-service act would be class legislation pure and simple. By forcing more married women into factory work, the national-service act would serve to magnify the problems of home-keeping and juvenile delinquency. Such an act would also seriously jeopardize the continuation of many valuable public services such as libraries, publishing, and social work, and undoubtedly would have a deleterious effect on all humane and intellectual activities. The preservation of these activities up to now has been one of the encouraging facts of the past two years.

I disapprove of the national-service act on principle because its passage would put us at once in the ranks of the totalitarian nations. It would remove another large sphere of choice from individuals; it would in essence be a surrender on a vast scale to the theory of militarism. We are fighting the war to preserve democracy and to eliminate militarism. Every acceptance of military dictation beyond what is absolutely necessary is therefore a denial of the very ideals we are supposed to be preserving. In the light of the problems which are going to face this country after the war, this surrender at the present time seems to me dangerous in the highest degree.

We are past the worst man-power crisis. American production on a voluntary basis has been almost miraculous. To pass a national-service act now would be an insult to the devotion and the hard work of those who have made that production possible; it would be a dangerous surrender to the principle of military direction; it would be an unnecessary yielding to the ideals of the totalitarian states.

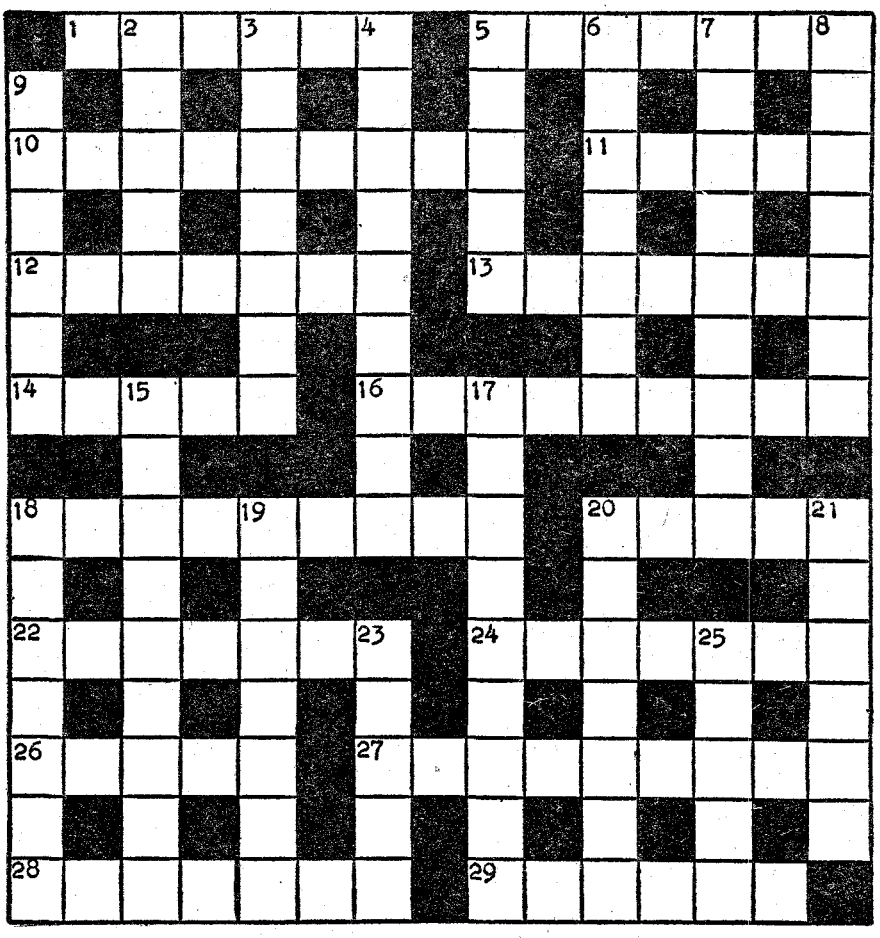
TALBOT F. HAMLIN

New York, January 25

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 51

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 An opening word
5 They are frequently spent in Russia
10 Not the main business (two words, 4 and 5)
11 A substitute for silk, perhaps
12 One idol, to put it differently
13 Do well
14 A word out of Shakespeare
16 Of such as are unable to regain their old form after strain
18 What the politician who tells nothing but the truth is likely to become
20 Parisian dressmaker whose name stands for value
22 Name of several American fishes
24 Men used to swear by this in Spenser's day
26 "Abou Ben Adhem (may his ----- increase!) Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace"
27 Birth, sire, provides an American name for one of our allies
28 Not dead (anag.)
29 The Heavenly Twins

DOWN

2 One is far from pleased if off it
3 His book was required reading in Germany (two words, 1 and 6)
4 A Ruhr town with a twisted tail!
5 Travelling "sailsmen" (!)
6 The answer to all complaints
7 His business is picking up
8 Here a legislative body I see
9 Attendants who come in rushes
15 Pole No. 6 might give something *like* a report!
17 Mr. Barnstaple's role in Wells' "Men Like Gods"
18 And so, for a change, untamed
19 Many are busy in the ------- making a past for the future
20 Bill declares himself
21 "Round trips" to the baseball fan
23 Bury
25 A churchman receives a letter and turns to a lady novelist

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 50

ACROSS:—1 STEAMER; 5 TORCHON; 9 IMPIOUS; 10 UNICORN; 11 PLATE; 12 DAD; 13 SMILE; 14 RUN WILD; 16 RECARRY; 18 MISLEAD; 21 SEXTONS; 24 DOGMA; 26 PAN; 27 ARIEL; 28 SATANIC; 29 PERDITA; 30 ENDLESS; 31 TOWHEAD.

DOWN:—1 SKIPPER; 2 EXPLAIN; 3 MOOSE; 4 RESIDED; 5 THUNDER; 6 RAILS; 7 HOOSIER; 8 NUNNERY; 15 ICE; 17 COX; 18 MODISTE; 19 SIGHTED; 20 DEPICTS; 21 SUN SPOT; 22 ORIFICE; 23 SELF-AID; 25 ANNIE; 27 ARROW.

Nelson Not Wellington

Dear Sirs: In my article, Liberated Italy, in *The Nation* of December 27, I wrote that the Duke of Wellington, high official of the AMG in Sicily, is owner of a large estate at Bronte.

The fact is that the Duke of Wellington was killed last October fighting in Italy and was succeeded in the dukedom by his uncle, Lord Wellesley. It is Lord Wellesley who is now a high official of the AMG in Sicily.

He is not the owner of a large estate at Bronte. This large estate was donated during the Napoleonic wars by the Bourbon king to Lord Nelson, not to the Duke of Wellington. It belongs to Nelson's and not to Wellington's heirs. Thus Lord Wellesley has no personal interest there.

I feel duty-bound to apologize for attributing to the Wellington family an estate which belongs to the Nelson family and for the wrong inference I drew from my error. G. SALVEMINI

Cambridge, Mass., January 20

CONTRIBUTORS

HAROLD J. LASKI, professor of political science at the London School of Economics, is a leading member of the left wing of the British Labor Party. His books include "Democracy in Crisis," "The Foundation of Sovereignty," "The State in Theory," and, his latest, "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time."

SELDEN C. MENEFEE is the author of "Assignment: U. S. A."

FRITZ STERNBERG is a German economist now living in New York. He is the author of "Fivefold Aid to Britain" and "From Nazi Sources: Germany's War Chances."

CHARLES ABRAMS is counsel to the American Federation of Housing Authorities and author of "Revolution in Land."

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY teaches cultural history at Black Mountain College, North Carolina. He is the author of "Hero-Worship," a study of Carlyle and Nietzsche, to be published soon.

VOLTA TORREY, until recently, wrote on the technique of practical politics for *PM*. He is now on the staff of *Popular Science*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED